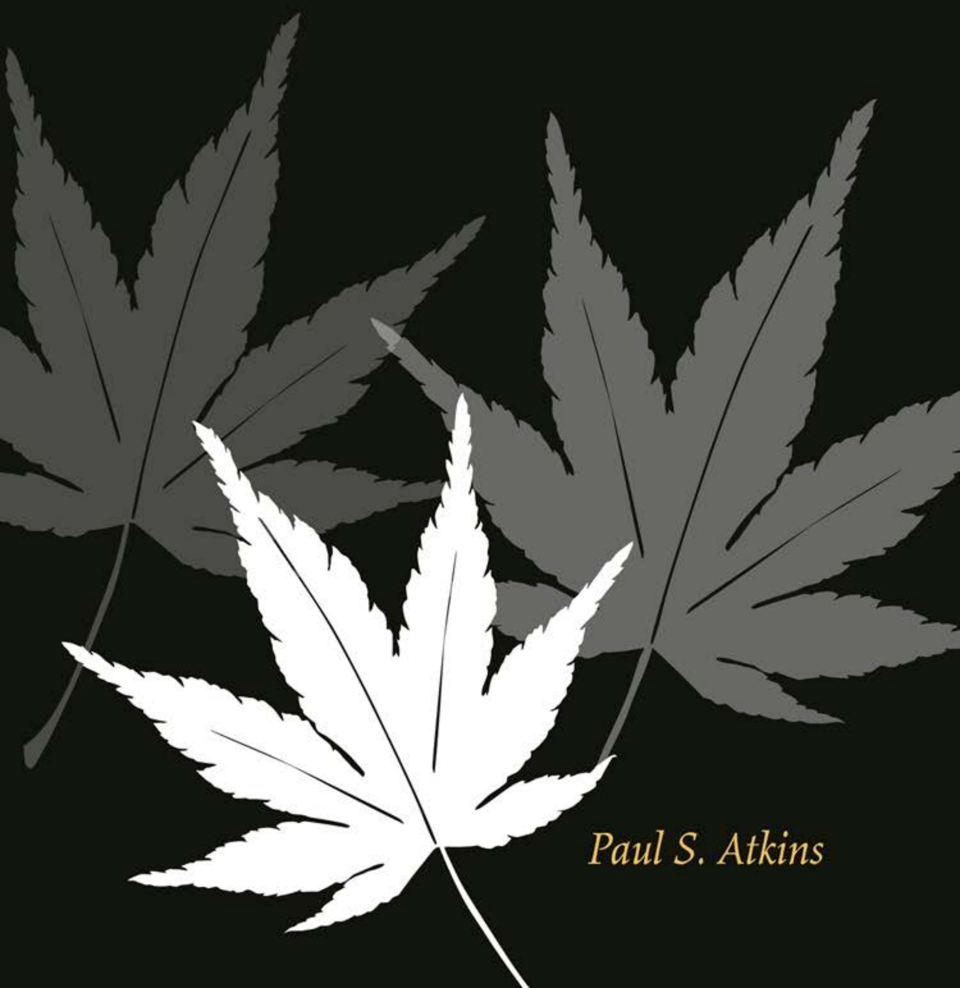
TEIKA

THE LIFE AND WORKS *of a* MEDIEVAL JAPANESE POET



Paul S. Atkins

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Paul S. Atkins

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For Mikiyo

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Teika

Introduction

It is the middle of the night. Let us say it is an autumn night in Kyoto, the capital, and the year is 1450. A man cannot sleep, despite the coolness of the night, despite his comfortable situation. He is seventy years old, a Zen monk who once trained at the storied Tōfukuji temple among other places, but now more than that or anything else, he is a poet who writes in the thirty-one-syllable waka form. He has written tens of thousands of these little poems, many of which he lost forever when his house burned down. But he kept writing. He was once punished by the shogun, the most powerful man in the country, and had his lands confiscated. But he eventually got his lands back, and the shogun is now dead, assassinated by one of his own generals. The poet is still alive.

He is alive, but he cannot sleep. He cannot sleep because he is thinking of a poem. It is a love poem written two centuries earlier by the poet's hero, who was, of course, another poet. Let us say it is this poem:

shirotae no / sode no wakare ni / tsuyu ochite /
mi ni shimu iro no / akikaze zo fuku[1]
At a parting
of pure white sleeves,
dew falls
and the autumn wind blows
in a color that soaks my soul.

What a marvel—what a mystery! A man and a woman are in love. He rises in the early dawn to go, before anyone can see him leave. They embrace, their white underrobes nearly indistinguishable from each other. She weeps; he weeps. It is chilly in the autumn morning. There is still dew on the grass outside. The wind blows. It sinks right through them. Everything seems white.

How could the wind have a color? he wonders. And how could one possibly learn to write like this? He keeps reciting the poem to itself, teasing out its impossible secrets. The minutes pass. An hour passes. Now he is completely awake. He tries to think of something else, but winds up thinking of another love poem by the same poet. It is no use. Eventually he has an unsettling feeling: he is losing his mind.

This is more or less a true story, although the details are uncertain. The poet and monk is the person known to us today as Shōtetsu (1381–1459), an astonishingly prolific poet who left behind a collection of thoughts and remarks titled *Conversations with Shōtetsu* (*Shōtetsu monogatari*). Despite not having been born into one of the old aristocratic families that controlled the practice of waka poetry, Shōtetsu absorbed and mastered their linguistic and aesthetic conventions, becoming a master of the form. His hero was Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), author of the poem quoted above. It and a handful of others were cited by Shōtetsu in his *Conversations* as inimitable paragons of the form. Shōtetsu wrote, "When it comes to love poetry, nothing from ancient times to the present has been able to equal Teika's poems."[2] Moreover, he really did say, "Sometimes on awaking from sleep I happen to think of one of Teika's poems and feel as if I were about to lose my mind."[3] Although Shōtetsu studied with one of Teika's descendants, who over the years since Teika's death had split into rival families and factions, he regarded himself as a disciple of Teika, not any particular school. He hung a picture of Teika in his house.[4] He even declared, famously, "In this art of poetry, those who speak ill of Teika should be denied the protection of the gods and Buddhas and condemned to the punishments of hell."[5]

This book is an attempt to answer the question, "Why Teika?" Why did Shōtetsu revere Teika and not someone else? Why did tea masters a century later spend great sums to acquire samples of Teika's calligraphy, mount them on scrolls, and hang them in their alcoves? Was Teika's poetry truly superb? Why? Was it especially difficult? How so? What do those scraps of calligraphy say, and was it their content,

the handwriting, or the identity of the author that conferred value on them? A combination of all three?

Fujiwara no Teika (also called Sadaie) is widely and properly known as one of the most influential figures in the history of Japanese literature and one of the most skillful practitioners of the very durable thirty-one-syllable poetic form alternately known as *waka* (literally, "Japanese song"), *tanka* ("short song"), or simply *uta* ("song"). The period in which he lived is regarded by some as the apex of the art of waka poetry, culminating in the completion of the eighth imperial waka anthology, *Shin kokin wakashū* (New anthology of ancient and modern waka poetry, ca. 1210).

Waka is an ancient art. Its oldest extant texts date back to songs included in the eighth-century *Chronicles of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki,* 710). By the middle of the ninth century, there were enough poems to compile the massive anthology *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Man'yōshū,* ca. 748), which brought together some forty-five hundred poems, mainly in the waka form, by diverse authors and from various time periods. In 905, the first imperially commissioned anthology of waka poetry, *Collection of Ancient and Contemporary Waka* (*Kokin wakashū,* or *Kokinshū*), was presented to the court. It inaugurated an enduring tradition of imperial waka anthologies that would produce twenty-one collections over a period of five hundred years. The first collection, *Kokinshū,* became a classic in its own right. Students practiced their penmanship by copying out its poems, and court ladies were tested by the emperor on their memory of the entire collection. It served as a common frame of reference and a shared cultural memory for generations of Japanese readers.

Poetry is sometimes regarded as a solitary practice, but this was not the case at all in premodern Japan. Waka poetry was closely associated with political power and social prestige. Poems were exchanged between lovers, friends, lords, and subjects, even gods and their worshippers. Social relations were created and reinforced through waka, which came to symbolize peace and harmony, refinement and elegance, and a distinctively Japanese linguistic and cultural identity. Waka was the most prestigious literary genre of all. It was closely associated with the imperial house, court culture, and the worship of Shinto deities.

Teika's age was a time of rapid and stunning political change. At the time of Teika's birth, political power lay principally in the hands

of two persons. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192) was one of a long line of retired emperors whose administration (*insei*) had taken over many of the functions previously undertaken by reigning emperors. The warrior chieftain Taira no Kiyomori (1118–1181), leader of the Taira (or Heike) family, which was descended from imperial princes and had built up a powerful military base in the provinces, had been invited to the capital by Emperor Go-Shirakawa to provide military backing in a succession dispute and had decided to stay. By 1180, when Teika was a junior courtier, his own family, the Fujiwara, had been shut out of many of the court offices by members of the Taira family. That situation changed in the years that followed, as the Taira's hereditary rivals, the Minamoto (also called Genji), annihilated the Taira in a civil war and their leader Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199) established a shogunate to rule the country alongside the previously established imperial and civil institutions. Teika and other Fujiwara courtiers regained their previous positions, and Teika's family especially flourished under the shogunate, as his second wife's family (the Saionji) cultivated close ties with the military, and Teika's son married the daughter of a powerful general. In time the shogunate itself was taken over by regents belonging to the Hōjō, the family of Yoritomo's wife, Masako (1156–1225). Then in 1221 Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239) attempted to overthrow the Hōjō regent and reestablish imperial rule, but his forces were soon defeated. The regency purged the court of many of Go-Toba's allies and Teika, who had fallen out with Go-Toba, benefited again.

Teika was first and last a courtier from a hereditary line of men who had served emperors, retired emperors, and regents for centuries. He held various court ranks and offices during his career and was extremely interested in winning promotions and acquiring official appointments. His duties included regular attendance upon his patron, whether it be a sitting emperor, retired emperor, or member of a regental family. (Teika's primary patrons were the Kujō family of hereditary regents and Retired Emperor Go-Toba.) He relied on these patrons to sponsor him for promotions and appointments, and to help him preserve and expand his ownership rights in various parcels of farmland, whose produce provided a substantial share of the income he needed to sustain his household.

Teika's family was especially renowned for skill in composing, teaching, critiquing, and judging waka poetry. Teika's father, Shunzei (also called Toshinari, 1114–1204), served as solo compiler of the

seventh imperial anthology of waka poetry, *Senzai wakashū* (Anthology of waka poetry for a thousand years, 1188). This signal honor was shared by his son Teika, who served as a member of a committee that compiled the next anthology, *Shin kokin wakashū,* and as solo compiler of the one after that, *Shin chokusen wakashū* (New anthology of waka poetry compiled by imperial command, 1235). Receiving the commission to compile an imperial anthology of waka poetry was the highest honor a poet could receive. As a skilled poet and judge of poetry contests, Teika was a valuable member of the entourages of regents and emperors who pursued the art of waka poetry, both for its intrinsic pleasures and for the prestige it conveyed as an ancient, sacred, and native art that suggested auspiciousness, erudition, taste, and an unbroken link to an idealized past.

Late in life, Teika personally collected his poetry in the anthology called *Shūi gusō* (*The writings of a gentleman-in-waiting,* 1216–1233). The total number of poems included in *Shūi gusō* and other sources totals about forty-five hundred poems. The core of *Shūi gusō* is a set of fifteen sequences, each composed of one hundred poems (*hyakushu*), which were the pinnacle of the art of waka in Teika's time. Poets would be issued lists of one hundred topics and would compose one poem on each topic. Sequences could be matched against one another in large-scale poetry matches (*utaawase*), such as the famous *Roppyakuban utaawase* (Poetry match in six hundred rounds, 1193) and *Sengohyakuban utaawase* (Poetry match in fifteen hundred rounds, 1202–1203), both of which included Teika. Other poems in *Shūi gusō* were composed for specific occasions; they might be inscribed on a standing screen, appended to a letter to a friend, or recited at a farewell banquet.

Teika kept a diary over a period of about fifty-five years. About a third of it is extant, mostly in Teika's own hand and mostly owned by a foundation established by his descendants, the Reizei family of Kyoto; it has been designated a Japanese National Treasure. The diary is called *Meigetsuki* (Chronicle of the brilliant moon). This is a later appellation; Teika himself referred to it using a traditional form of modesty, calling it simply *guki* (my foolish diary). By tradition the Reizei pronounce the characters "Meigekki." It is a rich source of knowledge for the politics, society, religion, economy, and, of course, culture of Teika's day. It has also been used to gain insights into the history of medicine and glean information on historical supernovae.

Teika also wrote prose fiction. A pseudo-historical fictional tale, *Matsuranomiya monogatari* (*The Tale of Matsura,* ca. 1190), has been

attributed to him; he may have written other works that are now lost. *The Tale of Matsura* concerns a Japanese courtier named Ujitada and is set in the Nara period (710–784), a time of close and frequent contact between Japan and the continent. Ujitada travels to Tang China on an official mission, receives secret instruction in playing the Chinese koto, seduces two beautiful, highborn Chinese ladies, and almost single-handedly puts down an uprising against the Chinese emperor. Then he returns to Japan, where his mother has been waiting for him. While not on a par with other premodern Japanese tales, such as *The Tale of Genji* or *The Tale of Sagoromo,* or with the historical chronicle *Tales of the Heike,* written around the same time, the tale is highly readable. It has been studied for what it might reveal about the development of Teika's poetic style, and also for its potential to tell us about the ways in which China was perceived in early medieval Japan.

Like his father, Shunzei, Teika was asked to serve as a judge of poetry contests, declaring each round a win, loss, or draw and sometimes adding a comment. These judgments are invaluable in reconstructing the poetic ideals and standards of the age. In addition, there are a number of treatises attributed to Teika in which he (or someone claiming to be him) cited poems to be emulated in composition, elaborated different styles of poetic expression, discussed the best way to develop proficiency as a poet, and so forth. There are also texts of a more prosaic nature in which Teika commented on earlier works of literature or discussed matters of court ceremonial.

Teika was an avid collector, editor, and copyist of Japanese literary texts. He built a massive personal library during an age in which movable type was not used and every text had to be copied by hand. The variety of characters used to render each phonetic value, the range of different handwriting styles, the linguistic difficulty of earlier texts, and the presence of errors made copying a borrowed text anything but straightforward. Teika copied many texts personally and also ran a kind of scriptorium in his household in which literate servants copied texts under his supervision. Some of the versions of classic Japanese literary texts that Teika produced—such as *The Tale of Genji, Kokinshū,* the first imperial waka anthology, and *Sarashina Diary,* the memoir of an eleventh-century court lady—are still consulted by scholars today in preparing critical editions.

Between his diary, his poems, *The Tale of Matsura,* the texts he copied, and various letters, Teika left behind a great deal of autograph material, much of which has survived, against all odds, to this day.

No later than the end of the sixteenth century, tea connoisseurs were engaged in discovering, buying, and selling pieces of Teika's calligraphy. Some of this activity was motivated by a general desire to obtain symbols of Japan's classical past for its inherent prestige; the creation of albums of old handwriting samples (*tekagami*) was a common practice. But these acts of desire and mimesis—Teika's calligraphy was frequently imitated—were also specifically directed at Teika himself. His calligraphy was at once easy to read and highly idiosyncratic, the perfect combination for amateur collectors.

As is readily apparent, Teika's oeuvre is immense. An exhaustive study of all its aspects would require thousands of pages and many years of work. Moreover, there is much preliminary work to be done. The Reizei family began providing public access to its trove of texts only in 1980.[6] The standard edition of *Meigetsuki* is more than a century old, and an authoritative transcription of its extant portions is being published only now. Serious efforts to fully annotate *Meigetsuki* started only in the mid-1990s and are proceeding at a steady but slow rate.

This study approaches this vast body of texts through five central topics, each discussed in one of the chapters that form the body of the book. They are:

1. Biography: a survey of Teika's life, dealing with his official, personal, and literary lives is presented, based mainly on the *Meigetsuki.*
2. Poetry: Teika's early poetic style, called pejoratively *Daruma-uta* (denotatively, "Bodhidharma poems"; connotatively, "Zen gibberish"), is explored through explicit statements about the style and its appearance in pivotal poetic events that were held during the late twelfth century. Special attention is paid to the practice of *taigen-dome* (ending poems with a noun, which is unusual in Japanese). *Taigen-dome* is taken provisionally as an index of linguistic innovation, and quantitative analysis is used to chart its use.
3. Poetics: What did Teika believe the purpose of waka was? What was good poetry, and what was bad? What were the different types of waka, and how could one become proficient in composing it? An attempt is made to reconstruct Teika's view on these matters by examining his treatises, judgments of poetry matches, and his poems, and to contrast his poetics with those of his contemporaries and rivals.

4. China: waka was portrayed as a native art, but the influence of Chinese literary and historical texts was decisive, not only on waka but on Teika's diary (*Meigetsuki* was written almost entirely in a Japanese variant of classical Chinese), and, of course, the *Tale of Matsura*. Chapter 4 situates China in Teika's mind (he traveled little in Japan and never to China) within the broader context of Sino-Japanese cultural relations.
5. Reception history: How were Teika's poetry, calligraphy, and personality consumed during his lifetime and after his death? What process enabled his rehabilitation from "Zen babbler" to poetic saint? What do the works of renga poets and nō playwrights tell us about the medieval and early modern understandings of Teika and his time?

Chapter One

A Documentary Biography

This chapter consists of a brief biography of Teika presented chronologically in the form of selected incidents, episodes, remarks, and trends, principally, but not exclusively, gleaned from his diary, *Meigetsuki*.[1] His life, which lasted almost eighty years, is extraordinarily well documented for someone of his time and place. This documentation owes mainly to Teika's own efforts as a tireless preserver of documents and devoted diarist. *Meigetsuki* spans more than half a century, and the standard edition takes up three hefty printed volumes. Although only about a third of the original diary is extant, *Meigetsuki* is a valuable and copious source of detail, not just about Teika but about the times in which he lived.

Thanks to the partial survival of *Meigetsuki,* Teika's life, as opposed to his literary oeuvre, is so well documented that an entire book could be written about it, and in fact, entire books have been written about the *Meigetsuki* alone. The focus of this study, however, which is determined by the interests and specialization of its author, is Teika's literary writings and his ideas about poetry. It is not a literary biography, nor is it a sociohistorical study of his literary work. Nonetheless, it seems impossible to avoid even this basic sketch of Teika's career, literary activities, and family life, knowledge of which is fundamental at times to understanding Teika's poetry, and possesses considerable intrinsic interest.

Birth, Childhood, and Youth: 1162–1179

Teika was born sometime in the second year of the Ōhō era (1162) in the capital, Kyoto. His father was a forty-nine-year-old courtier and distinguished poet named Fujiwara no Akihiro. Akihiro would later take the name Toshinari, read Shunzei in its Sinified form, by which he is known today. He held the Senior Fourth Rank, upper grade, and occupied the post of Chief of the Left Capital Office.

Teika's mother was a daughter of Fujiwara no Chikatada, who once served as governor of Wakasa. She had a personal name that is unknown but, as a former lady-in-waiting, retained a sobriquet (*nyobōmei*) from her days at court: Bifukumon-in no Kaga. "Bifukumon-in" refers to the lady she served, Empress Bifukumon (1117–1160), a consort of Emperor Toba and mother of Emperor Konoe and of the imperial lady Hachijō-in. Kaga is the name of a province. Kaga had been previously married; her first husband, the courtier Fujiwara no Tametsune, had taken Buddhist orders, and she had a son from that marriage, Takanobu (1142–1205), who would later distinguish himself as a painter of portraits and a waka poet.

Shunzei and Kaga named their son Mitsusue. (He was later renamed Sadaie, or Teika in the Sinified pronunciation.) At the time of his birth, Teika had eight elder siblings, seven of them sisters. But these were just his full siblings; he had other half siblings from both his parents' marriages to others. In addition to Kaga's son, Takanobu, there were Shunzei's sons and daughters: in all, they totaled sixteen children by six different women. Nonetheless, most of those children were by Kaga, and Shunzei's relationship with her is properly regarded as his primary one.

In 1162 the memories of the Hōgen and Heiji Disorders (1155 and 1158, respectively) would have remained fresh in the minds of Teika's parents. These events began as political struggles between factions of courtiers and, in the case of the Hōgen Disorder, pitted a reigning emperor (Go-Shirakawa) against his retired predecessor and elder brother (Sutoku), ending in the shocking exile of the latter. They escalated into armed confrontations with the entry of local military elites—members of the Taira and Minamoto families and their allies. Although the Taira, under the leadership of Taira no Kiyomori, were victorious and began to monopolize political power for the next two decades, that would change in Teika's lifetime. What was permanent, however, was what may be termed, depending on one's view-

point, as an encroachment or usurpation of political prerogatives traditionally reserved to members of the courtier class by members of this armed elite. This transformation took place over a span of decades and is one of the major events of Teika's social and political life.

There is little to say about Teika's very early years, which is perhaps a happy state of affairs; his mother bore Shunzei another daughter two years after Teika was born, his last known full sibling. To a courtier family in twelfth-century Japan, a houseful of daughters was a blessing. For the most part, these girls would enter service in one distinguished household as teenagers, and they would go on to supply their father and brothers with information and contacts that would aid their ascent up the court hierarchy of rank and offices. While little of them is known except for what appears in the *Meigetsuki,* one of Teika's sisters, the woman known as Ken Gozen (also as Kenshunmon-in chūnagon, b. 1157), left behind a memoir that she composed in her old age, *Tamakiwaru.*

Teika was not the eldest son. Nariie, born seven years earlier, was, and he enjoyed a position as Shunzei's presumptive heir. In 1166, Shunzei resigned the office he held as Chief of the Left Capital Office so that in exchange Nariie could be appointed to the post of Chamberlain (*jijū*). This was a common practice at court. Later the same year, Shunzei was promoted to Junior Third Rank. All promotions were causes for celebration, but promotion to Third Rank especially so, as it meant the bearer was admitted to the ranks of the senior nobles (*kugyō*), who enjoyed special privileges. At the very end of the year, Teika received his first appointment to court rank, Junior Fifth Rank, junior grade. This was the standard point of entry for the sons of nobles.

Life was going very well for Shunzei. The following year he was promoted to Senior Third Rank, and the year after that his daughter Ken Gozen, aged nineteen, entered the service of Taira no Shigeko, an empress of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa who was later awarded the title Kenshunmon-in. In 1170, Shunzei was appointed Chief of the Empress' Household Office. Around the same time he was in demand as a judge of waka poetry contests.

Teika contracted measles (*aka-mogusa*) at the age of thirteen.[2] This is another noteworthy event, as it is the earliest bout with illness he recorded. Sickness is a perennial topic among the entries of *Meigetsuki;* despite his long life, Teika was often ill. Later that year, Shunzei resigned his post as Chief of the Right Capital Office so that Teika

could be appointed Chamberlain, much as he had done for Nariie nine years earlier.

The following year Shunzei, now aged sixty-two, fell so ill that he took holy orders as a Buddhist monk and the name Shakua. (An established custom, this practice was believed to increase one's chances of a happy rebirth in the next life.) His children, especially Teika and even Nariie, would have been at a great disadvantage for the rest of their lives without the backing of their father. As it turned out, however, Shunzei not only survived but lived to celebrate his ninetieth birthday, and even as a lay monk enjoyed great success as a poet, teacher, and compiler. Yet, he might have been able to help his children even more had he delayed his retirement from court for a few years.

Teika's career as a poet began in 1178, at the age of sixteen. That year, he and Nariie participated in a poetry contest at Kamo Shrine that Shunzei judged. It was also that year that Shunzei was summoned by Fujiwara no Kanezane (also known as Kujō Kanezane, 1149–1207), a powerful courtier who held the high post of Minister of the Right and would later serve as Regent. Thus began the beginning of a patron/client relationship that would bring great benefits not only to Shunzei but, later in life, also to Teika, who was especially close to one of Kanezane's sons, Yoshitsune (1169–1206; not to be confused with the warrior Minamoto no Yoshitsune).

Despite this success, Shunzei must have felt he was living on borrowed time, for he arranged for Teika to be adopted. Teika's adopted father was Fujiwara no Muneie (1139–1189), husband of his elder sister known by the sobriquet Hachijō-in Azechi. After Shunzei's death, Muneie would have been responsible for promoting Teika's career. Muneie and Hachijōin Azechi never had biological children of their own (she lived to the age of fifty), so perhaps the arrangement was mutually beneficial; Muneie gained an heir and Shunzei would not have to divide his property between Nariie and Teika. Shunzei's teenage son, Mitsusue, was at this point renamed Sadaie, the name by which he is known to history; the character *ie* ('house, family') in his name is derived from the name of his adoptive father, Muneie, and not from any of Shunzei's names. As it turned out, however, Shunzei actually outlived Muneie, and continued to mentor and advocate for Teika.

At the age of eighteen, Teika was granted the privilege of working at the Courtier's Room (*Tenjo no ma*) inside the Seiryōden Hall of the inner palace compound. It is at this point that his career as a courtier

began in earnest. From this time onward, Teika was appointed, often along with Nariie, as an envoy, escort, or dancer in various festivals and processions; one such celebration was of Muneie's promotion from Counselor (*chūnagon*) to Senior Counselor (*dainagon*).

Adulthood and Middle Age: 1180–1201

The events of the fourth year of Jishō (1180) represented a turning point in Teika's life. During the first round of appointments early in the year, Teika was promoted to Junior Fifth Rank, upper grade. The earliest extant entry of *Meigetsuki* dates from this year, and from this point onward until Katei 1 (1235), we have a great deal of information about Teika's activities, albeit with significant gaps. It was a critical year not only personally for Teika, but politically for the nation as a whole, for it marked the outbreak of armed hostilities between the Taira and the Minamoto, reorganized under Yoritomo and their respective allies. This civil war would last for five years, involve many of Teika's associates, and greatly extend the reach of the military class into the workings of the court bureaucracy and the administration of private landholdings.

The earliest entries of *Meigetsuki* are rather uniform; they describe the comings and goings of Teika and others as they made visits on various illustrious figures or served in attendance upon the emperor at the palace. To the modern eye, the attention to sartorial details—colors and patterns of robes and skirts, caps, and quivers—is striking. Teika never explicitly states why he keeps a diary, but it is evident from the content that he used it to record things overheard that might be of use later—gossip, news, names, ranks, offices. Special attention is given to matters of protocol and precedent, which were crucial matters for the courtier.

Many courtiers kept diaries during this period, and the standard writing system employed therein was *kanbun,* variously described as Sino-Japanese or a variant form of classical Chinese. It is perhaps best thought of as classical Japanese written down to look more or less like classical Chinese. That is, all of the characters are logograms from the Chinese language (*kanji*), and there is little or no use of the Japanese phonograms (*kana*) needed to transcribe the particles, auxiliary verbs, suffixes, and other words that perform grammatical functions in Japanese. This means that an ostensibly Chinese grammar based on word order and the use of a few dozen characters used for grammatical

purposes were necessary. One reads aloud the utterances produced by this admixture of languages, not by pronouncing each character as it is or was pronounced in Chinese, but in Japanese, passing silently over some characters, reading others twice, and often reading characters out of order. The reader must supply pronunciations of individual characters and compounds and the missing grammatical elements that join them, either by educated guesses based on the content or with the aid of diacritical marks, if present.

It was typical of men of Teika's class to keep their diaries in this manner, as many official court documents were written in the same language, although often in an elevated and more formal style. Despite the linguistic awkwardness of *kanbun,* it is concise, not especially difficult to write or read when one is dealing with the same types of events over and over, and far more suited to scanning than a text composed of *kana* alone.

What makes the *Meigetsuki* distinctive and, at times, a sheer pleasure to read (apart from the pleasures of extracting historical detail) is that Teika sometimes shakes off the urge to record names, places, customs, and wardrobes and instead expresses his inmost feelings about the events of the day. He rejoices, mourns, celebrates, and all too often, complains. Everyone else must have had these feelings, albeit in different proportions, but Teika is almost alone in mixing private sentiment with records of his public life. Moreover, as we might expect from an extremely talented poet, his lyrical gifts stayed with him when he sat down to write in his diary. This is an early example, written when Teika was nineteen:

> Clear. Not a single cloud obscured the full moon as the plum blossoms in the garden, open to the fullest, scattered their fragrant scent in every direction. With no one else at home, I wandered about and, as the night grew late returned to bed, but with the lamps flickering was in no mood to sleep. Went out again, toward the south, and was gazing at plum blossoms when suddenly I heard a fire had broken out—in the northwest, they said. Very close. After some time the wind rose up suddenly, and the fire reached the home of the captain to the north. He quickly got into a carriage and left. With nowhere to go, Father went to the residence of Lord Narizane. The area where the storehouses were located was reduced to smoke in an instant. They say that the wind was extremely strong. Many documents etc. were burned. Minister of the

> Judiciary paid a visit, wearing plain dress. Father met with him. In this cramped cottage, everything is a hardship.[3]

This passage describes the destruction of Shunzei's house at the intersection of Gojō Avenue and Kyōgoku Street. It has more in common with Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* (An account of a ten-foot square hut) than it does with a typical courtier's diary; indeed, Chōmei also relates two catastrophes that occurred in the same year—a massive whirlwind that damaged many structures in the capital and the sudden decision by Kiyomori to shift the capital from Kyoto to Fukuhara. Chōmei was an associate of Teika's, and the disasters and upheavals that Chōmei memorably describes in his famous narrative were part of Teika's world too.

Besides the moving of the capital and the outbreak of what would later be called the Genpei War, there was another important political development that affected Teika. That was the abdication of Emperor Takakura, the young emperor just a year older than Teika. Takakura was married to Kiyomori's daughter Tokuko (more commonly known as Kenreimon-in) and it is thought that Kiyomori was anxious to have Takakura abdicate so that he would have a freer hand in politics, as grandfather of the new emperor, Antoku, the two-year-old son of Takakura and Tokuko. When Takakura took a Buddhist name, Shunzei forbade Teika from attending the ceremony. Early the following year, Takakura died and Teika deeply grieved his death. Perhaps Shunzei knew the end was approaching for Takakura, whether politically or personally, and that it would do his son no good to get even closer to him; he would do better to ally himself to someone else.

One important episode in Teika's youth that does not appear in extant portions of *Meigetsuki* is a physical confrontation he had with a fellow courtier that led to Teika's suspension from his court post. It is described in an entry from *Gyokuyō,* the diary of Kujō Kanezane, dated Bunji 1.11.25 (1185):

> Heard that during the evening of the command performance,[4] there was a quarrel between Captain Masayuki and the Gentleman-in-Waiting Sadaie [Teika]. Masayuki taunted Sadaie, and things got very much out of hand. So Sadaie could not endure his anger, and struck Masayuki with a candle/torch (*shisoku*). (Someone said he struck him in the face.) Because of this Sadaie has been stricken from the roster [of courtiers]. [5]

The incident with Masayuki has been cited as evidence of Teika's hot temper but, as Gomi Fumihiko suggests, it serves equally well as an index of his antagonist's personality.[6] Later events suggest that Kanezane's description of the matter, which was sympathetic to Teika, may have been accurate. Teika records in Karoku 2.6.23 (1226) hearing that two beheaded corpses of a man and woman were found at the intersection of Rokujō and Suzaku Avenues. The man was the gentleman-in-waiting Chikayuki, and the two were executed for "evil deeds" at the command of Chikayuki's father—Masayuki, now an old man. According to rumors, the woman was said to be Chikayuki's daughter or his sister, which would suggest an incestuous relationship. Teika describes Masayuki as "mad" and luckless.[7]

Teika's suspension lasted until the third month of the following year. Shunzei finally interceded on his behalf by sending a letter to an official in which he conceded that Teika should be punished, but that the offense should be mitigated by his youth and that his punishment had lasted long enough. Sadanaga (1149–1195; not to be confused with Shunzei's nephew Jakuren, whose lay name was Sadanaga) replied on behalf of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa with a letter attached to a directive ordering amnesty for Teika. Both parties expressed their thoughts through a set of poems that Shunzei included in the seventh imperial waka anthology, *Senzaishū:*

> During the current reign, around the time of the Gosechi Festival, it came to His Majesty's attention that the gentleman-in-waiting Sadaie had erred, and the latter was excluded from the ranks of courtiers. The year ended and, around the first of the third month of the following year, the poet attached this to a letter to the Junior Controller of the Left Sadanaga, asking for His Cloistered Majesty's opinion of the matter.
>
> (The Lay Monk and Master of the Empress Dowager's Household Office Toshinari)
>
> *ashitazu no / kumoji mayoishi / toshi kurete /*
> *kasumi o sae ya / hedatehatsubeki*
> The year that a crane
> strayed among the cloudy paths
> came to a close—
> must he remain always
> on the other side of the mists?

When Sadanaga relayed this message to His Majesty, the latter was moved to pity and expressed the wish that Sadaie return to service as a courtier immediately. His Majesty ordered that it be further conveyed that he was no longer displeased and so the poet composed and sent the following poem:

> *ashitazu wa / kasumi o wakete / kaeru nari /*
> *mayoishi kumoji / kyō ya harubeki*
> Among the reeds
> the crane parts the mists
> and returns.
> The cloudy path on which he strayed
> will surely clear for him today.
>
> At the time someone said that the mercy of this government was no different from that of the sagely reigns of antiquity.[8]

Not only did Shunzei deftly use a waka poem to obtain a pardon for his son, but made a gesture of thanks by including the exchange in the *Senzai wakashū,* which he compiled at Go-Shirakawa's command. In retrospect, the entire incident reveals less about the personalities of Teika or even of Masayuki than it does about the savvy of Shunzei and the social functions of waka at the time.

A few days after Teika was reinstated and permitted once again to enter the palace, he was summoned to serve Kanezane and from this period served as a retainer to the Kujō family. Almost half a century later, Teika would recall that ceremonial first appearance before Kanezane, and complain, "I have already served for three or four reigns, running errands like a common laborer."[9] Notwithstanding Teika's dissatisfaction, he benefited greatly from his association with the Kujō family, serving Kanezane and his son Yoshitsune. Although the Kujō temporarily lost influence in a power struggle during the late 1180s, they recovered and established a good relationship with the Kamakura shogunate.

Bifukumon-in no Kaga, Shunzei's wife and Teika's mother, died on Kenkyū 4.2.13 (1193). In the lunar calendar, it was the middle of the middle month of spring, right around the time of the full moon, and almost three years to the day after the death of Saigyō, the poet-monk who was a close associate of Shunzei and a mentor to Teika.

We can judge by the numerous votive acts, including the copying of sūtras and the writing of memorial waka, that Teika undertook in the decades that followed his mother's death that he was deeply bereft. His grief was immortalized in the following lament, included in the *Shin Kokinshū* with the preface, "On visiting the former residence of his late mother after a typhoon one day, in the autumn of the year she passed away."

> *tamayura no / tsuyu mo namida mo / todomarazu /*
> *naki hito kōuru / yado no akikaze*[10]
> Jewels of dew, of tears
> pour down without ceasing
> for even a moment
> in the autumn wind at a house
> that mourns the one who is no more.

For the first anniversary of his mother's death Teika personally made six copies of the *Lotus Sūtra* and composed eleven memorial waka to inscribe on the covers of one set.[11] He commissioned memorial services every year on that date. Forty years later, he wrote in his diary, "I faced this loss in the fourth year of the Kenkyū era in the middle of a long illness. Somehow I have lived to see the fortieth anniversary of Mother's death, all the while grieving more deeply than my siblings. Although I miss her dearly, being a poor man I lack the ability to do something sufficient, which saddens me."[12]

While Teika was still mourning his mother, he faced a dilemma. He was invited to participate in a poetry match of unprecedented scope by Kujō Yoshitsune, a budding poet and courtier who was the son of Kanezane, the current regent, and nephew of Jien, head of the Tendai Buddhist establishment on Mount Hiei. In his collected poems, Teika noted, "Poetry contest. Autumn of Kenkyū 4 [1193]. The topics were issued in [Kenkyū] 3. That year I had cause to abstain from contact with others, but due to special circumstances, I was still summoned to produce these poems."[13] Teika should have refrained from participating in public events since he was still in mourning for his mother, but it is likely that Shunzei encouraged him to participate anyway. Shunzei did not contribute poems himself but served as judge after all the poems had been received.

Yoshitsune issued a set of one hundred topics, half on the seasons and half on love, some of which were relatively novel and

signaled from the outset a preference for innovation. Twelve poets from various groups—the Mikohidari, the Rokujō, the Kujō, and some neutral courtiers—were placed on two teams of six poets each, mixing poets from the groups. Their one-hundred-poem sequences were collated by topic, and six poems from the Left team matched against six from the Right, with the opponents varying by round. Representatives of each team debated the merits of the poems appearing in each round, and judgments—win, loss, or draw—were issued in writing by Shunzei. The Rokujō poet Kenshō was so dissatisfied by Shunzei's decisions that he composed a lengthy written dissent and submitted it to Yoshitsune.

Yoshitsune, the youngest and highest-ranking competitor, compiled the best record, and his team, the Left, defeated the Right, led by his uncle Jien. But the real winner was the Mikohidari school, especially Teika, who was able to demonstrate a new style of poetry that built on Shunzei's legacy of elegance and feeling but was more linguistically daring and demanded more from the reader. This approach to poetry triumphed over the somewhat pedantic, traditional, and pseudo-archaic style of the Rokujō, and established Teika as the likely choice to succeed Shunzei as poetry tutor to the Kujō family, especially its rising star, Yoshitsune. A large number of poems from the contest were later selected for inclusion in the *Shin Kokinshū*. Because of the focused, sustained nature of the event itself, the quality of the judgments, and the diversity of participants, *Roppyakuban utaawase* is an extraordinarily valuable text for understanding the poetry and poetics of Teika's time, in particular the nascent new style.

Sometime around 1194, Teika took a second wife, the daughter of Fujiwara no Sanemune. (He had married the daughter of Fujiwara no Sueyoshi, by whom he already had a son, some ten years earlier.) There is no documentary record of their marriage; rather the date is surmised because she bore Teika a daughter, later known as Yoriko, the following year; a second daughter, known perhaps as Kaori, was born in 1196.[14] Both served as ladies-in-waiting, Yoriko to Retired Emperor Go-Toba and, later, to Kujō Michiie, Yoshitsune's son who later became regent.

Late in 1196, Kanezane, whom Teika had served for ten years, unexpectedly and inexplicably resigned his post as regent. His brother Jien, head of the Tendai school, followed suit the same day. Kanezane's son Yoshitsune, however, remained at court. The details of Kanezane's fall from power are not clear, but it seems to have been engineered by

his rival, Minamoto no Michichika. It was a threat to Teika, who relied on Kanezane for political and economic support. Although Yoshitsune had kept his post, he sporadically went into seclusion. For several years, major events were sponsored not by the Kujō house but by patrons of the Rokujō and, later, Retired Emperor Go-Toba, who rehabilitated Jien and Yoshitsune (but not Kanezane, who permanently retired).[15]

Teika's second wife (Sanemune's daughter) gave birth to a boy, whom they named Mitsuna, in 1198. Teika already had two sons and a daughter by his first wife. In addition to the two girls and Tameie, his second wife would bear another daughter who would become a lady-in-waiting to Retired Emperor Go-Toba. During his lifetime he also had another son, Kakugen, whose mother is not known; two daughters (whom he fathered by maids); and six adopted children.[16]

Of these sixteen children, it was only Mitsuna, later and better known as Tameie (1198–1275), who would succeed Teika as a famous poet and successful courtier, rising to Senior Second rank and serving as solo compiler of the tenth imperial waka anthology, *Shoku gosen wakashū,* and co-compiler of the eleventh, *Shoku kokin wakashū.* Tameie won favor at court at an early age partly because of his skill at the traditional game of *kemari,* and he married the daughter of Utsunomiya Yoritsuna, an influential general who was Teika's neighbor at Saga in the western suburbs of Kyoto.

Toward the end of 1197, Teika had been visited by Jakuren, an adopted son of Shunzei's who was a member of the Mikohidari coterie of poets. Jakuren transmitted a summons from Cloistered Prince Shukaku, abbot of the Ninnaji temple and the second son of the late Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, for Shunzei and Teika to participate in a poetry gathering he was sponsoring.[17] Poets were to contribute sequences of fifty poems on a list of set topics. Teika, Shunzei, and a number of other Mikohidari poets participated, as did a few Rokujō poets and some neutral courtiers and monks. The event was known as *Omuro gojisshu* (Fifty poems at Omuro), after the area around Ninnaji, which had historically been headed by cloistered princes.

Later a selection of poems was ordered into rounds for a poetry contest (*Omuro senka-awase,* "Poetry contest of selected poems at Omuro"). In a certain sense, it was a rematch of *Roppyakuban utaawase.* Although Shunzei once again served as judge, the sponsor was a supporter of the Rokujō school and, as we shall see later, a rather

conservative poet himself. It has also been speculated that Shunzei did not really judge the contest but rather recorded the general sense of the group as a whole, which was composed predominately of non-Mikohidari poets; Yoshitsune and Jien did not participate. Teika did not do nearly as well at this event. This illustrates the importance of patronage, and the vulnerability of the Mikohidari poets during the period that Yoshitsune, Kanezane, and Jien were out of power. In the end, the Mikohidari poets laughed last, as more of their poems from this event were selected for inclusion in the *Shin Kokinshū* than those by the Rokujō poets.

Sometime during the 1190s, it is believed that Teika wrote *The Tale of Matsura* (*Matsura no miya monogatari*), his only extant work of fiction. The text is attributed to him in *Mumyō zōshi* (An anonymous book, ca. 1200), a collection of anecdotes and opinions about the fiction of the Heian and early Kamakura period that is thought to have been written by Teika's niece (the woman known as Shunzei's daughter; she was actually Shunzei's granddaughter, adopted by him as a daughter). It reads, "Also, the many tales that Captain Teika appears to have written seem to be preoccupied with form, and are entirely unfounded in reality. Especially *Matsura no miya,* with its intense evocation of the mood of the *Man'yōshū;* and one feels as if one is reading *Utsubo monogatari.* It appears to have been written in a style that this foolish mind cannot reach."[18]

The *Tale of Matsura* is indeed set in the age of the *Man'yōshū,* just before the Nara period. Its protagonist is a Japanese courtier named Ujitada (his name is curiously similar to Teika's name, Sadaie: *tada* sounds like *sada* and *ie,* "house, family" is a near-synonym for *uji,* "clan"). Despondent over a lack of success in love, Ujitada travels to Tang China as an official envoy, receives secret instruction in playing the *qin,* rescues the Crown Prince, puts down a rebellion, and seduces two beautiful women. He then returns to Japan, where his mother is waiting for him.

Teika served as Captain (*shōshō*) in the imperial bodyguard from 1189 to 1201, which helps us date *Mumyō zōshi* and *The Tale of Matsura* as no later than 1201. It is possible that Teika wrote the *Tale* before being appointed as Captain, but for other reasons it is believed that he wrote *Matsura* sometime in the 1190s. The tale is discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4; it is interesting to note here the remark that Teika wrote "many" tales. Perhaps some of the others have survived and will come to light someday.

"Early Old Age": 1200–1220

The third period of Teika's life is dominated by his relationship with Retired Emperor Go-Toba. In his time, old age began at forty and, according to the East Asian count, for Teika that was the first year of the Kennin era, 1201. It was also the year that Teika joined for the first time the large entourage of Go-Toba on one of his many imperial pilgrimages to the great Shinto shrines in the Kumano region, on the Kii Peninsula. Also that same year, Go-Toba resurrected the imperial Poetry Bureau (*Wakadokoro*) and appointed Teika and a number of other courtiers to it. He charged its members with compiling a new imperial waka anthology, *Shin Kokin wakashū*. Teika spent the following decade working with others, including Go-Toba himself, to gather and arrange the poems that would appear in the anthology, and often professed exasperation with what he regarded as unjustifiable meddling on the part of the emperor. Somehow their relationship survived the experience, but they had a final falling-out in 1220; as we shall see below, it was actually a blessing in disguise for Teika.

Emperor Go-Toba had ascended the throne as a child in 1183, replacing his brother, the ill-fated Antoku, who drowned in the arms of his grandmother, Kiyomori's widow, in the Heike naval defeat at Dan-no-ura. Like Antoku, Go-Toba was a son of Emperor Takakura, whom Teika had known, served, and admired in his youth. After abdicating in 1198 at the age of eighteen, Go-Toba was able to pursue a wide range of cultural and athletic pursuits, enjoying his newfound freedom. One of his interests was waka poetry, and the retired emperor proved to be a quick study. He soon began to fill the vacuum in patronage created by the downfall of the Kujō in 1196 by sponsoring a series of events that would culminate in the completion of the *Shin Kokinshū*.

In the seventh month of the second year of Shōji (1200), Go-Toba had begun organizing his first large-scale poetic event, which commenced with an invitation to about twenty distinguished poets to submit hundred-poem sequences of poems on a list of assigned topics. Initially Teika was excluded on the grounds that he was not senior enough, but this is seen merely as an attempt by his rivals to keep him out of the event, lest he outdo them again. Shunzei wrote a lengthy letter appealing to Go-Toba, and Teika was allowed to participate.[19]

Among the poems composed by Teika on this occasion were these two famous verses, both of which were later included in the *Shin Kokinshū*.

koma tomete / sode uchiharau / kage mo nashi /
Sano no watari no / yuki no yūgure[20]
There is no shelter
to rest my pony
and brush off my sleeves.
At the Sano ford,
snow at dusk.

ume ga hana / nioi o utsusu / sode no ue ni /
noki moru tsuki no / kage zo arasou[21]
On a sleeve to which
the plum blossoms
have transferred their scent
vies too the light of the moon
that slips through the eaves.

The following year Teika was granted the privilege of joining Go-Toba's entourage on a pilgrimage to Kumano. Retired emperors had been making this journey for centuries (reigning emperors were severely limited in their ability to travel, for reasons of security and ritual purity), including Go-Toba's grandfather Go-Shirakawa. It would be Teika's first and last trip, as far as we know, to Kumano. He traveled very little during his lifetime outside Kyoto, except for frequent trips to his villa in Saga and occasional visits to Nara and other areas near Kyoto.

The journey began on the fifth day of the tenth month of Kennin 1 (1201) and lasted twenty-one days. After a series of ritual purifications, Teika and the others traveled by boat to what is now the city of Osaka. From there, they made a stop at the Shitennōji temple, and Teika privately visited the Sumiyoshi Shrine, dedicated to the god of poetry. The entourage proceeded on foot and horseback down the western side of the Kii Peninsula, stopping frequently to pray at the many sub-shrines (*ōji*) studding their route. They cut east to visit the Main Shrine (Hongū), then traveled by boat down the Kumano River to the New Shrine (Shingū) and the shrine at Nachi, before turning around and heading back to Kyoto along the route they came.

Although the journey gave Teika the chance to spend more time in the presence of Go-Toba through poetry gatherings that were held at night in Go-Toba's lodgings, and he was deeply moved by the chance to visit these sacred sites, the overall impression one has upon reading

his description of the trip is one of misery. Teika fell ill, as he often did even in Kyoto; lodgings he had reserved were taken away by someone of higher rank; and the weather took its toll.[22]

It was the year after his visit to Kumano that Go-Toba resurrected the Poetry Bureau. (The first Wakadokoro had been established in 951.) Teika, Yoshitsune, Jien, Shunzei, Jakuren, and a number of other poets from the Mikohidari and Rokujō lineages were selected to participate. The establishment of a new bureau meant that Go-Toba was preparing to order a new imperial anthology, *Shin Kokinshū*.[23] Indeed, Go-Toba gave the members of the bureau their commission later that year. In the decade that followed, Teika and the others would spend many hours writing poems, participating in poetry contests and poetic gatherings, reading through the work of other poets past and present, selecting poems for inclusion, arranging the poems within individual books, incorporating changes ordered by Go-Toba, and writing prefaces for individual poems and for the anthology as a whole. The result included almost two thousand poems organized in twenty chapters and prefaces in both Japanese and Chinese. It included a substantial number of poems that had originally appeared in the eighth-century *Man'yōshū*.[24] Along with the *Man'yōshū* itself and its namesake, *Kokinshū,* the first imperial waka anthology, *Shin Kokinshū* is generally seen as one of the three "best" anthologies of waka. It is especially prized for the careful way in which the compilers assembled the individual poems into a coherent whole. The anthology is regarded as having broad temporal structures (the seasonal chapters track the passage of a year from spring to winter; the love chapters chart the trajectory of a romantic affair) and narrower connections between strings of poems.[25] Although it includes a wide range of poems, the *Shin Kokinshū* gave prominent place to poems composed by Mikohidari poets in the so-called Shinkokin style. Its characteristics include heavy use of allusion (*honka-dori, honsetsu*), which added depth to these brief poems; the ending of poems with nouns (*taigen-dome*) to create a sense of incompletion or something left unsaid; and the division of poems into two separate utterances along the 575/77 syllabic axis (*sanku-gire*), much like linked verse (renga), which was enjoying increasing popularity at that the time. Poems from the *Shin Kokinshū* were often used in later ages by renga poets, noh playwrights, and others wishing to allude to the early medieval past.[26]

Some of the poems included in *Shin Kokinshū* were written after Go-Toba commissioned the anthology, while the compilers were doing

their work. Partly in order to generate good material for the collection, and partly to enhance his already formidable arts as a patron of waka, Go-Toba organized a poetry contest that was and remains the largest of its kind to date. Kujō Yoshitsune had invited twelve poets to submit hundred-poem sequences for his *Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds* nearly a decade earlier. Go-Toba, who had a competitive streak, decided to invite thirty poets, for a total of three thousand poems, judged in fifteen hundred rounds. The product is now known as *Sengoyhyakuban utaawase,* the *Poetry Contest in Fifteen Hundred Rounds.*

Shunzei, the usual judge, was of an advanced age and too frail to handle the judging. In fact, it is difficult to imagine any single person judging this many rounds without taking too long or lapsing into sloppiness. Thus, ten poets took turns judging rounds. The participants included Go-Toba, Teika, Shunzei, Yoshitsune, various members of the Mikohidari and Rokujō factions, some ladies-in-waiting, and even some members of the imperial family.

While this contest far exceeded its predecessors in terms of quantity, the large number of poems submitted all but guaranteed that the overall quality of the poems and the judgments would not be very high. Although a handful of the poems that Teika wrote for this occasion were later included in the *Shin Kokinshū,* none later became especially famous; their inclusion owes something to the sheer quantity of poems produced and perhaps also to Go-Toba's desire to commemorate this event, and is not entirely a measure of the quality of the poems. Nonetheless, it was an unprecedented and significant event.[27]

Teika's father Shunzei died in the eleventh month of Genkyū (1204), aged ninety-one. The previous year an elaborate banquet had been held in honor of his ninetieth birthday, with congratulatory poems. Given the shorter life expectancy in this era, ninety-one years was an almost miraculously long life span. Shunzei, Teika, and Tameie must have had some kind of biological predisposition toward longevity, as they all lived to advanced ages. This is especially remarkable when we recall that Teika often complained of illness in his diary and did not enjoy an especially robust constitution.

Teika was aged forty-three at this point, and his heir Tameie was seven years old. Although both could enjoy the substantial prestige that came with being a descendant of Shunzei, Teika no longer had the benefit of his father's sage political advice, nor could Shunzei intervene on his behalf, as he had done at least twice before. Perhaps

this had been the case for several years, as Shunzei's health declined, but with his death Teika felt truly bereft. The *Meigetsuki* itself registers his distress, as Teika makes a rare "lapse" into vernacular, phonetic hiragana characters as he describes his father's last hours, the things Shunzei said, and the different things Teika and others tried to make him more comfortable.[28]

In 1205 a banquet was held by Go-Toba to commemorate the completion of the *Shin Kokinshū,* but the anthology was far from complete; the compilers worked on it for a few more years. Teika and a fellow courtier discussed the lack of precedent for a banquet to commemorate the completion of an imperial anthology; the only one he could think of was a similar event held at the time the official history *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720) was presented. In the end, Teika did not attend the banquet, and was permitted to stay away because he was still in mourning for his father.[29]

In the third month of the following year (1206), Teika's patron Kujō Yoshitsune died suddenly at the age of thirty-eight. The *Meigetsuki* is missing for the first four months of the year, so we lack Teika's response to this loss, but there is no doubt that he was devastated. Yoshitsune was a fine poet, a talented calligrapher, and a learned and able administrator. He was one of the few people who could stand up to the domineering Go-Toba, and he would have been able to help and protect Teika for many years to come. His son and heir Michiie was only fourteen years old, but in time, Teika would serve him, as well. Yoshitsune wrote the Kana Preface to the *Shin Kokinshū,* in the voice of Go-Toba, as custom dictated. The first poem in the entire anthology is his, a signal tribute:

> *miyoshino wa / yama mo kasumite / shirayuki no /*
> *furinishi sato ni / haru wa kinikeri*[30]
> In lovely Yoshino
> even the hills are misty
> and to the old village
> where white snow has fallen
> spring has come.

Teika had been judging poetry contests ever since Saigyō did him the honor, in 1187, of asking him to judge a solo poetry contest composed entirely of Saigyō's own poetry. Teika had also served as one of the judges in *Sengohyakuban utaawase*, and had even judged a private

contest between Shunzei's daughter and her husband Minamoto no Michitomo in 1200. His views on what constituted good verse are implicitly recorded in these judgments, even if his decisions are recorded without further comment.

But it is not until 1209 that we have evidence of Teika's having written a formal treatise on Japanese poetics. In that year, Teika composed *Kindai shūka* (Superior poems of recent times) for the benefit of the young shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo. As the second son of Yoritomo, Sanetomo had succeeded his elder brother, Yoriie, and was serving as shogun at the time; he was only seventeen years old and had a keen interest in waka poetry.

The text Teika sent Sanetomo consisted of a preface and a list of poems he felt would serve as good models for emulation by the young poet. There are two extant versions of the text, one is the version sent to Sanetomo and the other, which differs in the list of model poems, was sent to another person. An autograph version of the second text is extant. In the text, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Teika suggests that the best model for imitation is not the poetry of Ki no Tsurayuki and other poets contemporaneous with the *Kokinshū,* but rather the generation that preceded Tsurayuki in the Kanpyō era and earlier, that of Ariwara no Narihira, Ono no Komachi, and others.

Teika wrote *Kindai shūka* as the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū* was coming to a close. During this period he turned away from writing waka. He devoted more of his efforts to writing treatises and commentaries, copying classic texts, and composing renga. He was also turning away from Go-Toba. Although Go-Toba remained an indispensable patron, he and Teika had clashed (to the extent that a courtier can clash with a retired sovereign and survive) often during the compilation process. Go-Toba regarded the shoguns as usurpers of his rightful place as administrator of the realm on behalf of the reigning emperor. Nonetheless, Teika, who had enjoyed good relations with the military class through patrons such as the Kujō and the Saionji, pursued this relationship with Sanetomo.

Although the official court system of ranks included nine ranks, each with multiple subdivisions, courtiers of Teika's class and higher began as children at Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade. If a courtier reached the lower step of the Third Rank, his status changed dramatically. He became known as a *kugyō* (senior noble) and his biography was recorded in the official roster of senior nobles, *Kugyō bunin.* He was awarded additional stipends to maintain an official household

office, and was granted other privileges, as well. It was truly a significant milestone in one's career at court, and the promotion was more significant than a mere increase in rank.

Teika reached this stage in the ninth month of Kenryaku 1 (1211), and the same day was appointed Gentleman-in-Waiting to Emperor Juntoku, the fourteen-year-old son of Go-Toba. He had asked for the promotion and the appointment, and when he received a letter saying that they would be his, he wept. He wrote in his diary that all his wishes had been fulfilled.[31] What is more, his son Tameie, now fourteen, had been given permission to serve at the palace in the previous year. Father and son attended various palace events together.

Teika held civil land rights (*ryōke shiki*) for a number of manors, and the produce from these parcels provided what was probably the bulk of his income. Even though he possessed these rights, he often had trouble with interlopers and usurpers. Servants of a courtier of high rank might trespass on his land and take away part of the crop; someone might come forward with a forged document and attempt to claim ownership rights; or a member of the military class with steward rights (*jitō shiki*) might take more than his fair share of the produce or otherwise attempt to interfere.

The last scenario did in fact occur with regard to Teika's land rights in a manor called Koazaka in Ise Province; the manor been commended to a superior entity, the Ise Grand Shrine. Its steward had been giving Teika's retainers trouble for some time when, in 1213, Teika sent a letter to the shogun Sanetomo asking for help. He enclosed a valuable copy of the *Man'yōshū* from his personal collection.[32] A month later, Teika was making a copy of Sanetomo's collected poems, titled *Kinkai wakashū*.[33] Although there is a gap in the *Meigetsuki* soon after this period, it seems safe to assume that Sanetomo was very pleased with Teika's gift, reciprocated with a copy of his personal anthology, and dealt with the errant steward.

With his own position secure, Teika's attention shifted to the career of his sons, Mitsuie and Tameie. Mitsuie, also called Kiyoie, was his eldest son by his first, estranged wife. He held various minor positions but eventually took holy orders and became a monk. Tameie enjoyed not only the backing of the family of his mother, Teika's second wife, but became a favorite of Go-Toba and his sons, the retired emperor Tsuchimikado and the reigning emperor, Juntoku, who admired Tameie for his skill in *kemari,* a game played at court (two teams of players take turns trying to kick a small ball without allowing it to hit

the ground). Teika would have preferred that Tameie excel at letters rather than athletics.[34] Nonetheless, while never reaching the heights that Shunzei and Teika attained, Tameie did become a respectable poet and served as solo compiler of the tenth imperial waka anthology, *Shoku gosen wakashū* (1251), and as co-compiler of the eleventh, *Shoku kokinshū* (1265).

In 1216, Teika selected two hundred poems from his vast oeuvre and matched them up in a solo poetry contest that he judged himself, *Teika-kyō hyakuban jika awase* (Lord Teika's solo poetry contest in one hundred rounds).[35] While this text was apparently intended to serve as a representative sample of Teika's work over a period of more than thirty-years, it included less than 5 percent of his collected poems. Teika collected the "leftovers" (actually, all of his poems, including those that were selected for the solo poetry contest) into his personal waka anthology, titled *Shūi gusō*. *Gusō* literally means "foolish grasses"; the character for "grass" also denotes a draft of a text, suggesting that the poems are actually unfinished, and calling one's own works, possessions, or relatives "foolish" is a traditional rhetorical practice in East Asia. *Shūi* has a double meaning. It means "to pick up the leftovers" (from the solo contest) and is also the Chinese-style name for the court post of gentleman-in-waiting (*jijū*). Teika held this post twice during his lifetime, once as a young man and again in middle age, and remarked that it was his favorite position of all.

In 1207, Go-Toba had constructed the Saishōshitennō-in chapel in eastern Kyoto, an elaborate set of buildings housing votive Buddhist statues and sliding doors inscribed with paintings and poems (by Teika and others) depicting some forty-six famous poetic sites from all parts of Japan. While ostensibly a retreat for Buddhist prayer and rites, the complex allowed Go-Toba to walk from room to room as if he were surveying the entire country. It was wishful thinking for Go-Toba to believe that he fully controlled the lands depicted on the screens, as the shogunate had usurped much of the power that the retired emperors once wielded. In fact, it was rumored that the Saishōshitennō-in chapel was created by Go-Toba for the express purpose of praying for the downfall of the Kamakura regime.[36]

Eventually Go-Toba's wishes came close to being realized. In 1219 the shogun Sanetomo, Teika's pupil, was assassinated by his nephew at the age of twenty-seven. Whatever hopes Teika may have had of enjoying Sanetomo's protection were dashed. The Saishōshitennō-in chapel was soon dismantled and moved, as if it had accomplished its

purpose. Control of the shogunate effectively passed to Yoritomo's widow, Hōjō Masako, and her male relatives, who had served as shogunal regents (*shikken*) ever since Yoritomo's death. Sanetomo was finally succeeded as shogun in 1226 by Kujō Yoritsune, the young son of Michiie, and Yoshitsune's grandson. Normally this would have augured well for Teika given his close connection to the Kujō, but Yoritsune was merely the puppet of the Hōjō.

Teika and Go-Toba had differing interests with regard to the role of the shogunate. Teika had good connections to Kamakura through his wife's family, the Kujō house, and for a few years, through Sanetomo himself. Go-Toba chafed at the shogunate. As he grew older, he grew stronger, and he seemed to be biding his time. They also had personal differences. Teika is often portrayed as a "prickly" character, thanks to his brawl as a young man with Masayuki and various comments, mainly made by Go-Toba, about his intransigence when it came to poetic matters.[37] But Go-Toba, too, could be difficult, and high-handed. He once had twenty courtiers who could not swim loaded onto a boat, then ordered the boat capsized. Teika was relieved he was not among them.[38] Go-Toba also once sent two officials to Teika's house in his absence to remove a pair of willow trees so he could replant them at one of his palaces.[39] Teika was angered by this, but there was little he could do. The willows died, so the following year, Go-Toba sent some officials back for some more.[40]

Teika reached his breaking point in 1220, on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the death of his beloved mother. He tells the story himself in the preface to a pair of poems he included in *Shūi gusō:*

> On the thirteenth day of the second month of the second year of Jōkyū, I was assigned to recite poems at the palace. When I replied that the day happened to be the anniversary of my mother's death, much to my surprise I was told to come right away that evening, regardless of the anniversary. The Chamberlain and Deputy Minister Iemitsu sent messages three times, and so I wrote these two poems and brought them with me.[41]

Moon over the mountains in spring

sayaka ni mo / mirubeki yama wa / kasumitsutsu /
   waga mi no hoka mo / haru no yo no tsuki

The mountains that I
should be able to see clearly

have misted over—
this spring night's moon
belongs to someone else.

Willows in a meadow

michinobe no / nohara no yanagi / shitamoenu /
aware nageki no / keburi kurabe ni
A willow in a meadow
by the side of the road
has secretly bloomed,
vying against the smoke
of my smoldering lament

It has been suggested that one or both of these poems displeased Go-Toba greatly, and led to Teika's being confined to his home by order of the retired emperor. On the surface, the poems seem innocent enough. Each was composed in response to an assigned topic. It being almost the middle of the second month, the moon was growing full (it may very well have been completely full, if the calendar was in need of adjustment, and in fact, a full moon was a very good reason to hold a poetry gathering). It was also the middle of spring. Therefore both topics are quite timely.

On the surface, the first poem might express the view of a disappointed lover who realizes that he should be enjoying the beautiful spring night's moon, but his tears cloud his vision (because his beloved will not grant him an assignation; conversely, if written from a woman's point of view, because her lover has abandoned her). The romantic spring scenery belongs to someone else who can see it with eyes unclouded by tears, and it belongs to lovers in love, not the lonesome speaker. At the deeper level, the speaker is not troubled by the heartlessness of a beloved, but it is rather Teika weeping still at the loss of his mother. The beautiful spring night belongs to Go-Toba and the others who are not recalling an old grief that evening.

The second poem is slightly more difficult to translate and understand. It hinges upon the pivot word (*kakekotoba*) *shitamoenu*, which has two meanings: "to bloom secretly" and "to burn (or smolder) secretly." The first meaning is the surface meaning; "a willow is blooming but the blooms are hidden." The second meaning is the deeper one: I (Teika) am smoldering out of resentment (like the funeral pyre on which my late mother's body was burned). We can read the rest of

the poem only in terms of the second meaning of *shitamoenu:* "let us (Go-Toba and myself) compare which one of us has the greater grievance. He is angry because I declined to come to his party; I am angry because he belittles the affection in which I hold my late, dear mother, thereby insulting her memory and myself as well. Clearly I have the greater cause for resentment."

Both poems shift from conventional poems on spring into expressions of Teika's grievances at the critical joint between the third and fourth lines, which is also the boundary between the upper and lower halves of the poem. In this way, they resemble two separate pairs of links of renga verses and, like the most memorable renga links, each of Teika's verses contains a turn that alters the meaning of what came before it. The first one shifts gently at *kasumitsutsu* (misted over); its second half obliges the reader to reread the mist not as a meteorological phenomenon but as a metaphor for the speaker's tears. The second one pivots more dramatically on the double senses of *moenu* as both "bloomed" and "smoldered." Teika had been participating in renga sessions since as early as 1188, and had composed renga with Go-Toba himself on numerous occasions.[42] By beginning each verse conventionally, as if he intended to comply with Go-Toba's command, and then twisting the gist in the second half, Teika gave his statements more impact and deepened the offense.

Teika had participated in *Roppyakuban utaawase* before a year had passed after his mother's death. Moreover, he attended the coming-of age ceremony (*genpuku*) of Yoshitsune's son Michiie (1193–1252) on the tenth anniversary of Kaga's death, in 1203. But these were exceptional cases; the day before Michiie's event, Teika was specifically instructed to attend despite the timing, as there was a shortage of participants, and he held the usual services early in the morning before leaving his house.[43] In this context, Teika's refusal to attend Go-Toba's gathering does not seem like willful disobedience.

It has also been suggested that the poems are linked to Teika's lingering grudge against Go-Toba for taking away his willow trees on two occasions, as discussed above.[44] But Teika did not pick the topics; they were the assigned topics, probably chosen by the organizer, Emperor Juntoku. Not only is the overlap coincidental, but there is really nothing in the poems to suggest that they refer to the usurped willow trees. Other explanations have focused on the allusive relationship between these poems and earlier texts, such as *The Tale of Genji.* We should resist the easy allure of such a view, however, because Teika lacked a copy of the tale from sometime in the 1190s, when his was

stolen, until he had the women of his household make him a new one in 1224–1225.[45] It is hard to believe that he would be incorporating a subtle allusion to the tale in his poems during this time.

Juntoku described the events in his diary and wrote that Go-Toba was "extraordinarily" angry; this suggests that Juntoku and others were displeased as well by Teika's breach of decorum. Go-Toba ordered that Teika no longer be summoned to the palace. As Hotta Yoshie notes, Teika was perhaps fortunate he was also not completely stripped of his rank and posts. A year later, a similar event was held at the palace, and Juntoku noted that Teika was still not permitted to attend. Shunzei was no longer alive to intercede for his son. It is not hard to imagine that Teika was unwilling to make the kind of abject apology that might have led Go-Toba to forgive him, and that, absent that gesture of submission, Go-Toba was unwilling to make the first move toward reconciliation.

Old Age and Death: 1221–1241

It is likely that Teika never saw Go-Toba or Juntoku again after that fateful night. Although Juntoku kindly (and secretly) asked Teika to send poems to him, Teika could not attend palace events. Then, in the fifth month of the following year (Jōkyū 3, 1221), Go-Toba issued an official directive to apprehend Hōjō Yoshitoki, the sitting shogunal regent and Masako's brother. A month later, the shogunate's army entered Kyoto, and a month after that, Go-Toba and Juntoku were on their way to exile on the islands of Oki and Sado, respectively. (Go-Toba's elder son, the retired emperor Tsuchimikado, was voluntarily exiled to Tosa Province on Shikoku soon after, and later moved to Awa Province.)

Despite Go-Toba's troubles, life was going well for Teika and his heir, Tameie. In the first half of Jōkyū 3, Tameie married the daughter of Utsunomiya Yoritsuna, a poet and former general who had once been close to the shogunal regent Hōjō Tokimasa, but had taken holy orders and moved to the Kyoto area. Yoritsuna owned a villa near Teika's villa in Saga, and it is perhaps because of that tie that Yoritsuna and Teika became acquaintances, and eventually their children married. Tameie's marriage to Yoritsuna's daughter was socially a step down, but in terms of political and economic power, it was a step up. A son, Tameuji, was born to them the following year.

Around this time Teika devoted more time and energy to composing works about poetry and poetics and copying classic texts. Sometimes he would borrow a text and make a copy for himself; other

times he would make a copy of a text in his own collection and present it to someone as a gift, or he would lend someone a text to copy. He was still participating in waka poetry gatherings and renga sessions, but the waka events were of much smaller scale than those held in the past. Rather than sequences of one hundred poems, poets might complete sequences of thirty poems at the most; contributions of five or ten poems on assigned topics were much more common.

Teika had been copying texts from an early age. There were no bookstores at the time, so in order to acquire a copy of, for example, *Tale of Genji,* one had to first find someone who owned a copy and was willing to lend it. To copy it, one needed a large quantity of paper, ink, and brushes; the free time to make the copy (or the resources to have someone else do it); and the knowledge required to read the original, write out the copy, and check it against the original.

Records of Teika's copying activities increase dramatically after the Jōkyū Disorder. He made many copies of the *Kokinshū* and presented them to family members and others. The second and third imperial waka anthologies, *Gosenshū* and *Shūishū,* were also frequently copied. Besides imperial anthologies, Teika copied a number of private anthologies, including those of the poets Kujō Yoshitsune, Minamoto no Sanetomo, Ōe no Chisato, Minamoto no Shunrai, Cloistered Prince Shukaku, and Shunzei. He copied works on poetics, including Shunrai's *Shunrai zuinō* and Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō.* Teika also copied a number of works in prose or mixed poetry-prose genres, including *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*), *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), *The Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi*), *Tales of Yamato* (*Yamato monogatari*), *The Tosa Diary* (*Tosa nikki*), and *The Sarashina Diary* (*Sarashina nikki*).[46]

The most famous text on this list is *The Tale of Genji.* As mentioned earlier, Teika owned a copy in his youth, but it was stolen sometime in the Kenkyū era (1190–1199). He did not obtain a new copy until 1225; it took some women and girls in his household more than four months to produce a new copy for him.[47] Some correspondence sent to Teika regarding his efforts to find copies are still extant, as Teika wrote out the *Meigetsuki* on the backs of old letters. Teika was interested in locating all available versions of the tale, and he had to press his network of contacts to do so. Some people declined to lend their copy, or denied they possessed one. In one case we learn that a copy may be unavailable, as a servant tried to sell it while its owner was away. This indicates, perhaps surprisingly, that there was a market for stolen books in Japan in the early thirteenth century.[48]

In 1222, Teika was promoted to Junior Second Rank. This was a high honor, as it meant that he had surpassed his father, Shunzei, in rank. He also resigned the post of Counselor (*sangi*), which suggests that the promotion may have required a trade. In 1227, Teika received his last promotion, to Senior Second.

Much like the copying of classic texts, the composition of renga is something Teika was engaged in from an early age, but references to it in *Meigetsuki* increase prominently after the Jōkyū Disturbance. During Teika's lifetime, the practice of renga shifted from "short" renga (*tan-renga*), in which one poet's verse of 5/7/5 syllables was simply capped by another poet's verse of 7/7 syllables, to "long" renga (*chō-renga*), in which strings of verses were completed by groups of poets; that is, what we usually mean by the term "renga." The sessions were free-for-alls, in which any poet was eligible to volunteer a new verse, so speed was essential. Participants sometimes bet on the action, with the poet composing the most verses in the sequence winning a prize. Teika abhorred betting on renga, and would not abide it in his house, but he excelled at this type of competition, and he loved it. One entry in *Meigetsuki* describes a session in which the poets were so enthralled they would not stand up or eat; Teika went home dazed by hunger and excitement. Teika also hosted many sessions at his home, and one of the regular participants was a woman of exceptional talent whom he referred to as the "renga nun." After her death, the sessions stopped. Unfortunately, none of her links, and very few composed by Teika and the others, survive. It was an ephemeral phenomenon, an art of the moment—you truly had to be there. Without the many entries on renga in *Meigetsuki,* this burst of activity would probably have disappeared without a trace.[49]

Teika took Buddhist holy orders on the eleventh day of the tenth month of Tenpuku 1 (1233). A friend, the monk Kōshin-bō, administered the precepts to him, and Teika became a lay monk, taking the name Myōjō.[50] Teika's daughters had taken vows themselves the previous month, and he had long been in ill health. By becoming a monk he was retiring from official life, although he still maintained a commission to compile the *Shin chokusenshū*. He resigned his rank of Senior Second; he had been appointed Supernumerary Adviser (*gon chūnagon*) and resigned the same post the previous year.

The change seems to have come as something of a shock to Teika. Soon after describing the rites in *Meigetsuki,* he shifted to kana for three days, even though the content matter did not necessitate it. Teika

sometimes used kana in his diary to report speech, or to describe precise physical actions, such as those that might be required in a court ceremony. But these are ordinary entries, distinguished only by unusual emotions, much resembling Teika's entry on the death of his father. Put simply, Teika was in a funk after having taken orders and declined all visitors. He complained that his head was cold (owing to it having been shaven when he took orders). But in a few days he began receiving visitors, resumed writing in kanji, and seems to have adjusted.

In 1232, Teika had received a commission from the reigning emperor, Go-Horikawa, to compile the ninth imperial anthology, given the somewhat generic name *Shin chokusen wakashū* (New anthology of Japanese poetry compiled by imperial command). Go-Horikawa was a grandson of Emperor Takakura, Go-Toba's father, and a son of Prince Morisada, who had been brought in by the shogunate after the Jōkyū Disturbance to serve as an equivalent of a retired emperor. Go-Horikawa had little interest in poetry; the project was instigated by Kujō Michiie, Yoshitsune's son and father of the current shogun, Yoritsune. The anthology would serve to polish the Kujō's historical reputation as patrons of the arts and cultivated practitioners of the ancient art of waka.

It was to be the first imperial waka anthology since the *Gōshūishū* (1086) to be compiled at the command of a reigning emperor, rather than one who had retired or taken holy orders. As such, Teika submitted a preface and table of contents for the anthology a few months after receiving the commission and just before Go-Horikawa abdicated. Two years later, in 1234, he submitted a draft to the retired emperor. Unfortunately, Go-Horikawa died not long after. Teika knew from precedent that if the commissioner of an imperial anthology died before the work was completed, the commission expired and the project must be cancelled. His work wasted, Teika burned his copy of the *Shin chokusenshū* in his garden the next day.

Michiie did not give up so easily. He retrieved the retired emperor's copy, made some suggestions for revision, and returned it to Teika with instructions to finish the work. The draft that Teika had given to Go-Horikawa would be considered a final, accepted version, and therefore the anthology could still be considered as valid. The changes that Michiie recommended were most likely the deletion of several dozen poems by retired emperors Go-Toba, Tsuchimikado, and Juntoku, none of whose works appear in the final version. Although it

pained Teika to omit their works, it was understood by Teika and Michiie that including their poems would not please the shogunate. Although Michiie's son was shogun, real power lay in the hands of the Hōjō family, which had recently rejected a proposal to permit Go-Toba to return from exile. A fair copy of the final version was completed in 1235, and Teika wrote in *Meigetsuki* that he was extremely gratified.[51]

A few months later, Teika received a request from Utsunomiya Yoritsuna, Tameie's father-in-law. Teika wrote about it in his diary:

> I have never known how to form characters. The lay monk has taken the trouble to press me for some poem cards for the sliding room dividers at Chūin in Saga. Although they are extremely unsightly, against my better judgment I wet my brush, and sent them. One poem by each person, from antiquity to the present, from Emperor Tenji all the way to Ietaka and Masatsune.[52]

This passage says that Yoritsuna (like Teika, had taken holy orders, and was actually addressed by his Buddhist name, Renshō, at this time, or by the title "lay monk") asked Teika to write out poem cards (*shikishi* are stiff cards, often colored, about eight inches square, used for inscribing waka), which he would then have mounted on the sliding doors of his villa. Teika did have poor handwriting, but his literary reputation trumped his lack of calligraphic skills; like poetry, calligraphy is often regarded as an extension of the personality rather than a mere demonstration of technical skills. The number of poems is not given, but the earliest poet, Emperor Tenji, reigned during the seventh century, and the most recent poets, Ietaka and Masatsune, were friends of Teika and still alive. In order to cover five hundred years of poetic history without restricting the choice of poets to *kasen*-class figures like Hitomaro or Komachi, the number of poets and cards must have been quite large.

This passage has frequently been adduced as evidence that Teika was indeed the compiler of the anthology of poems called *Ogura hyakunin isshu,* or simply *Hyakunin isshu* (One hundred poems by one hundred poets). It is an extraordinarily famous anthology, perhaps even better known in Japan today than the *Kokinshū*. From the fourteenth century, if not earlier, it was regarded as having been compiled by Teika, and in the Edo period it became the basis for a popular

card game. Two sets of cards are prepared, one with the entire text of each poem on each card, and the other with only the latter half of each poem written on each card. All or some of the cards from the second set are laid out between two players or teams, and a reader reads cards from the first set at random. The players search the cards before them to find the poem being read and try to find the correct card first. Numerous commentaries on the poems, the poets, and the structure of the anthology have appeared over the centuries. The cards themselves have been turned into works of art, especially the reader's cards, which typically feature a calligraphed version of each poem over an idealized portrait of its poet. Of course, the anthology has also been reproduced and consumed as text, illustrated or not, quite apart from the game.[53] *Hyakunin isshu* has served for generations as a primer for composing or reading waka poetry and as material for calligraphy practice. Its popularity as a game has the additional virtue of encouraging memorization of every poem.

Clearly, the passage quoted above does not prove by itself that Teika compiled *Hyakunin isshu.* Other pieces of evidence have been put forward. The most important is a text called *Hyakunin shūka* (Superb poems by one hundred poets).[54] *Hyakunin shūka* includes one poem more than *Hyakunin isshu,* omits verses by Go-Toba and Juntoku, and has some other variances, but in general it is quite close to the current text of *Hyakunin isshu* and must be related to it in some way. Its designation of Teika as Supernumerary Middle Counselor (*gon chūnagon*) means that it was written, or meant to be regarded as having been written, in 1232, which is the only year that Teika held that post, and three years before Yoritsuna's request. If *Hyakunin isshu* was not written by Teika, the forger picked a very good year, as it was also the year that Teika began the *Shin chokusenshū,* and the forger could have simply used the rank, posts, and appellations for the living poets as they appeared in the anthology, thereby avoiding anachronistic nomenclature, a classic giveaway of forged texts. Until the Reizei family opened its archives in 1980, only two texts of *Hyakunin shūka* were known, both seventeenth-century manuscripts whose colophons claimed that they were copied from an older text in the Reizei collection. A manuscript copy in the Reizei archives was published in the mid-1990s.[55] It is certainly not an autograph manuscript by Teika and it includes various notations and emendations that suggest that it came to the Reizei late rather than having been passed down from Teika, and that it was not regarded especially highly.[56]

There is significant overlap between *Hyakunin isshu* and Teika's *Hachidaishū* (Anthology of eight eras, also called *Nishidaishū,* 1215), Teika's digest of exemplary poems from the first eight imperial anthologies from *Kokinshū* to *Shin Kokinshū.*[57] Of the one hundred poems in *Hyakunin isshu,* six appear in imperial anthologies after *Shin Kokinshū;* one appears in two imperial anthologies (through an oversight of Shunzei, who composed the latter anthology, *Senzaishū,* and Teika, who assisted him); and one does not appear in any imperial anthology. All of the ninety-two poems that remain also appear in *Hachidaishū.*[58] Therefore, if Teika did not compile *Hyakunin isshu* himself, the real compiler must have used *Hachidaishū* as a basis for selection; the overlap could not be coincidental.

No consensus exists regarding various questions surrounding *Hyakunin isshu,* including whether it was compiled by Teika. In its present form, *Hyakunin isshu* includes poems by Go-Toba and Juntoku, whose works had been stricken from Teika's draft of the *Shin chokusenshū* out of fear of displeasing the shogunate. It is difficult to imagine Yoritsuna, who himself had once been suspected of disloyalty by the shogunate and forced into retirement, rendering the architect of the Jōkyū Disturbance and his son the honor of displaying their poems in a prominent place in his home; so it cannot be exactly the same set mentioned in *Meigetsuki.* The relatively late appearance of *Hyakunin isshu* is itself suspect, and it seems possible that it was created in the context of the rivalries between Teika's descendants in the mid-medieval period, but the extant evidence is simply inconclusive.

Death

The last extant entry in the *Meigetsuki* is dated Katei 1.12.30 (1235). Teika died on Ninji 2.8.20 (1241). Medieval Japanese Tendai Buddhism, the religion to which Teika and his family subscribed, taught that the forty-nine days after death were a crucial period in the determining the afterlife of the deceased, and votive rites, including the copying of the *Lotus Sūtra,* were held intensively during this period, culminating on the forty-ninth day, when the departed would be reborn in one of the Six Realms of existence or, preferably, would achieve liberation from the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth by entering the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Remarkably, a draft of a memorial text (*hyōbakubun*) composed on the occasion of the forty-ninth day after Teika's death is extant. It was composed by the Tōdaiji monk Sōshō

(1202–1278), who was related to Teika through his mother's family; he was the grandson of Teika's half brother Takanobu, the poet and portrait painter who was Kaga's son by her first husband. A prolific writer, Sōshō achieved high rank as a Buddhist priest, ascending to the office of superintendent (*bettō*) of Tōdaiji. His collected writings total eleven fascicles, and a draft of his collected writings, twenty-six; the memorial text, which is the closest thing we have to an obituary or epitaph for Teika, appears only in the draft version.[59] It was commissioned by Tameie and reads, in part:

> Having offered with reverence a lecture on the scriptures and a debate on doctrine for the karma of a good rebirth, we present them for the enlightenment of the late father, the lay monk and Counselor [Teika].
>
> The blessed virtues of that compassionate father are recorded in the inner teachings and the secular texts, and the sagely ruler above and the common folk below alike respond in kind. Upon considering his favor, it is as tall as the mountain of two blossoms; upon contemplating his virtue, it is as deep as the river of seven leaves.[60] Is there any person of sensibility, whether highborn or common, who does not appreciate his favor?
>
> Upon earnest reflection, we recall that the spirit of our late father belonged to the fifth generation of persons of great integrity.[61] He served wise rulers in several sagely reigns. His poetic ability was extremely pure, plumbing the depths of meaning. His benevolence, sense of duty, propriety, and wisdom permeated the genius that lay within his breast. The world celebrated the glory of his honesty and integrity, and sovereigns bestowed on him a bounty of favors.
>
> He began as Captain of the Imperial Bodyguard, and ascended to the office of Adviser. Later he was appointed Counselor, and reached the Second Rank. He carried out the elusive teaching of attaining success, through literary endeavors, but then withdrawing from the world, realizing that frivolous pursuits are like a spring night's dream. Fulfilling a long-held wish, he took lay orders, purifying his mind under the dawn moon.
>
> But in the second year of the Ninji era, the autumn fog persisted in wreathing his body and, eventually, in the eighth month of that season, the morning dew was about to evaporate. At that time, he settled his mind among correct thoughts, and chanted with his mouth the name of the Buddha. Taking leave of the thorny paths of this mortal world, he moved to a lotus pedestal in the Pure Land of the west.

> At his demise Dharma Seal Jizang was holding a brush and writing a text that read, "To witness its beginning at birth is to know the end in death."[62] In his final moments, the spirit of our late father was copying out the phrase "Amida Buddha will certainly come to welcome me." One is merely the eternally fixed principle of the inevitability of birth and death; the other, the fervent expression of a profound desire for rebirth in the Pure Land. When we evaluate the present in comparison with the past, the present surpasses the past in every aspect. One still appears in the annals despite having long been in the afterworld; how can the other not be a marvel, even though he lived in a latter age? The spirit of the late father has parted from birth and death, and there is no doubt whatsoever that he will be reborn in Paradise.
>
> The great sponsor, His Excellency the Senior Counselor [Tameie], has inherited a legacy spanning multiple generations and his family flourishes in its full glory. It is difficult to encounter an enlightened age; yet he has enjoyed the honor of being chosen by wise and sagely sovereigns of five reigns for his loyalty and honesty.[63] It is difficult to make a family prosper; yet he has recovered the office held by his ancestors Nagaie and Tadaie.[64] By whose power was this accomplished? It was completely due to the good offices of the spirit of his late father. In repaying these obligations, it is abundantly clear that he is deeply grateful.[65]

Satō's careful study of Sōshō's autograph text, its multiple emendations, and a letter regarding the composition of the memorial show that the text was composed in consultation with Tameie, so it should be regarded as an accurate, if adoring, portrait of Teika's death. He died of illness, perhaps exacerbated by chilly autumn weather, and was strong enough to hold a writing brush—he died writing. Sōshō does Teika and Tameie the lavish honor of comparing Teika favorably with the extraordinarily prolific and learned monk Jizang, an important figure in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Teika would have been deeply embarrassed to receive such high praise, and would certainly have disagreed with Sōshō's assertion that the present surpasses the past. There is no doubting, however, Tameie's deep gratitude for all his father had done for him. Through this memorial, he shows us a different view of the cantankerous complainer that we glimpse in *Meigetsuki*. In his tearful eyes, Teika was a person of great honesty and rectitude, and his refusal to compromise his ideals stemmed not from selfish stubbornness but from spotless integrity.

Conclusion

Teika's biography is full of paradoxes, surprises, and lucky breaks. He was born the second son of an aging courtier and his second wife, but he became his father's literary heir. His father retired prematurely, limiting his ability to help Teika at court, and Teika languished for years in the lower echelons but eventually exceeded his father's highest court rank. He was constantly ill but lived past the age of eighty. He suffered repeatedly from the premature deaths of current or potential patrons—Retired Emperor Takakura, Princess Shokushi, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, Minamoto no Sanetomo—but when one vanished, another appeared. His conflict with Go-Toba could have ended his career and stunted his son's; instead it meant he was spared during the purge that followed the Jōkyū Disturbance. Their falling-out was caused in part by Teika's intense devotion to the memory of his late mother, who had died almost thirty years earlier. In retrospect, it saved him. When he reached the pinnacle of his literary career as sole compiler of the *Shin chokusenshū,* the sudden death of Emperor Go-Horikawa should have meant that all his work had been for nothing; instead the project was rescued by senior courtiers. He was happy to judge individual poems, whether singly or matched in a poetry contest, but was loathe to make grand pronouncements about poetics; future writers composed a raft of treatises and fraudulently attributed them to him. Their bogus oeuvre exceeds his authentic corpus of texts on poetics by many pages. He considered his handwriting ugly (although it was easy to read and he took pride in his accuracy as a copyist); calligraphers have been imitating it, and collectors have been buying scraps of it (genuine and otherwise) for centuries.

In total, however, any life eludes summation; it has a conclusion only insofar as it ends. Teika's death was followed by trends of reading and interpreting his life and work that have continued for nearly eight hundred years up to the present day; it is the explicit subject of Chapter 5, "Teika after Teika," which may be read as a continuation of this sketch.

Chapter Two

The Bodhidharma Style and the Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds

Among Teika's various accomplishments, he is best known for his waka poetry, in particular the verse he wrote during the years leading up to the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū* in the early thirteenth century. In the relatively constricted conceptual space of waka poetics Teika and some like-minded poets—Jien, Ietaka, Jakuren, and others—were able to find a way to innovate. They did so without expanding their lexicon beyond the range of conventional poetic diction or violating the traditional canons of aristocratic taste through excessive archaism.

The new style was known by various names, but most memorably as *Daruma-uta,* literally "Bodhidharma waka poetry," with the pejorative connotations of mere gibberish. Bodhidharma (fl. fifth to sixth century) was the storied First Patriarch of Chan (Zen) Buddhism, who is said to have transmitted the Meditation School from India to China.[1] In the late twelfth century, Zen in Japan had yet to flourish under the leadership of Eisai (1141–1215), founder of the Rinzai Zen school in Japan; Dōgen (1200–1253), founder of the Sōtō school, had not even been born. Instead, Zen was closely associated with relatively marginal figures such as the priest Nōnin (fl. ca. 1189), and what we now call Zen (which means "meditation") was then known as the *Daruma-shū,* or "Bodhidharma School."[2] Courtiers at this time generally subscribed to the traditional schools of Buddhism—Tendai, Shingon, and the older Nara sects. Zen was anathema. Not only did they patronize temples in Nara (Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji, and so on) and Kyoto and its environs (Ninnaji, Enryakuji, and so on), but they often

enrolled younger sons at these institutions as monks. To have one's poetry labeled as "Bodhidharma verse" was an insult: one was being called a babbler, a pariah, a charlatan. Incomprehensibility was a hallmark of the elite Buddhist depiction of Zen, as this satirical verse by Jien on the topic *Daruma-shū* amply illustrates:

> *satoru beshi / kokoroetsuredo / kokoroetsu /*
> *kokoro o eneba / mata kokoroezu*[3]
> Realize this:
> Although you understand it,
> you understand it;
> and because you do not understand,
> you do not understand, either.

In this chapter I attempt to show what precisely inspired the *Daruma-uta* epithet, drawing on the scant sources available. For such a famous term, the extant textual material is relatively scarce. Then I examine how the *Daruma-uta* or, as it was alternatively known, the "new style" functioned in poetic practice, through discussions of two events. The first was the *Roppyakuban utaawase* (Poetry contest in six hundred rounds), a massive waka contest that was sponsored in 1193 by Kujō Yoshitsune. It produced a large number of poems that were eventually included in the *Shin Kokinshū,* highlighted the differences between the poetry and poetics of the Mikohidari and the Rokujō, and ultimately established Teika as the leading poet of the rising generation. The second is *Omuro gojisshu* (*Fifty Poems for His Cloistered Highness of Omuro*), a collection of fifty-poem sequences on set topics by court poets and monks that was organized by Cloistered Prince Shukaku (1150–1202), abbot of the Ninnaji temple and a member of the imperial family.[4] In a sense, *Omuro* was a rematch of *Roppyakuban,* and Teika fared less well in the judgments of selected rounds that were issued later than he did at the earlier event. Shukaku was partial to the Rokujō and, as I try to demonstrate, even more conservative than they were in his own poetic practice. Yet a large number of poems from *Omuro* also were picked for the *Shin Kokinshū,* and it too provides valuable insight to the production and reception of the new style.

This chapter asks the questions: What does it mean to innovate in poetry? How did Teika and his sympathetic contemporaries succeed or fail in doing so? In order to supply answers, it is necessary to define

innovation in a manageable way. One of the distinctive linguistic features of the new style was *taigen-dome,* "nominal termination," which entailed ending one's poem with a noun, rather than with a verb, an auxiliary verb (indicating tense, for example), or a particle (typically exclamatory or interrogative). Unusual in Japanese syntax, *taigen-dome* appeared in earlier verse, but its use increased greatly in the *Shin Kokinshū* period, making it suitable as a potential index of innovation. *Taigen-dome* has been advanced as one of the hallmarks of the new style, and the confidence with which it can be identified—a poem either exhibits it or does not, there is no question of degree—makes it an ideal point of analysis by which to quantify the new style. Analyzing the data thus generated produces some unexpected results, which are discussed in detail below.[5]

Defining *Daruma-uta*

The *locus classicus* for any discussion of the Bodhidharma style appears in Teika's collected works, *Shūi gusō,* which he compiled in 1216 but expanded and revised until 1233. *Shūi gusō* proper comprises three volumes; the first contains fifteen hundred-poem sequences, which were the pinnacle of formal composition in Teika's time; the second, more than five hundred poems in shorter sequences (such as the fifty-poem sequence); and the third, more than seven hundred poems sorted according to topic. Then there is a second part, titled *Shūi gusō ingai no zōka* (the latter phrase means "supernumerary miscellaneous waka," indicating that they form an appendix to the collection proper). Some of the poems in this section are actually hundred-poem sequences but are placed here rather than in the first volume because they were not composed for formal occasions. (There is a third part, titled *Shūi gusō ingai no gai,* which is an appendix to the appendix; it includes more poems that did not appear in the previous parts, but it was prepared not by Teika but by his descendant Reizei Tamehisa, and includes some poems of dubious authenticity.)[6]

Tucked away near the end of *Shūi gusō ingai no zōka* is a sequence of waka that was composed by Teika in 1182, at the age of twenty-two, on a set of one hundred poetic topics that were selected by Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107; r. 1086–1107) around the turn of the twelfth century and issued to a group of court poets with an order to respond with sequences. It eventually became a model of the genre. Teika was encouraged to polish his skills by composing waka using

these topics; by doing so, he also could compare his results with those of his illustrious predecessors, as both Fujiwara no Mototoshi (ca. 1060–1142) and Minamoto no Toshiyori (also called Shunrai, 1055–1129), Shunzei's teachers, had participated in the original event.

In the preface to this sequence, Teika recalled, from the distance of half a century:

> After my Yōwa [1181–1182] sequence of one hundred waka was made public, I received a stern instruction to compose poems using Emperor Horikawa's topics. Therefore I composed these waka in Juei 1 [1182]. As I read them now there is not one poem that should be included, and so I had omitted them. Yet, upon considering the matter carefully, [I recall that] at the time I composed these poems, my father and mother were deeply moved and burst into tears. They returned their comments to me, saying that I was destined to excel in this art someday. Lord Takanobu, Jakuren, and others all uttered words of praise, and so His Excellency the Minister of the Right [Kanezane] sent me a letter of commendation. Shun'e paid a call, wiping away tears of joy. For the first time I had acquired a reputation. Remembering these events of long ago, I have copied the text again here at the end, and feel especially abashed.
>
> (But that reputation was to last for only three or four years. From the Bunji and Kenkyū eras [1185–1199], [my poetry] was called the "newfangled, unprecedented Bodhidharma verse" and reviled by the whole world, high and low alike. It was on the verge of being abandoned. When the Shōji and Kennin eras [1199–1204] came, I enjoyed the divine aid of Tenman Tenjin [Sugawara no Michizane] and responded to the cordial commands of the wise sovereign and his sagely court. I inherited my humble family lineage and continued to pursue this art. Although I keep this a secret, it is not a trivial matter.)[7]

The Yōwa sequence mentioned in the first line was completed in the fourth month of Yōwa 1 (1181); it appears prominently at the very beginning of *Shūi gusō* under the title *Shogaku hyakushu* (Beginner's practice of a one-hundred-poem sequence).[8]

No doubt it was Shunzei who issued the "stern instruction" (*genkun*) to continue training with the Horikawa topics. As Teika notes, there is little to recommend the results, but he preserved them for sentimental reasons. He recounts the lavish praise of his parents, his half brother Takanobu, and his cousin Jakuren, and of even more

illustrious personages, Shunzei's patron Kanezane, and the aged monk Shun'e (b. 1113), son of Toshiyori. All of them had died by the time Teika wrote the preface.

The Horikawa sequence marked the beginning of a promising career that, he lamented, was thwarted for some years, specifically the period between 1185 and 1199, when the spirit of the deified courtier Michizane (845–903), patron god of scholarship, calligraphy, and poetry, miraculously saved him. Teika's rehabilitation refers to his entrée into Go-Toba's poetic salon around this time, and his participation in various poetic events sponsored by the youthful but newly retired emperor, who was showing prodigious talent and interest in waka.

The period in question spans years in which Teika wrote some of his most famous work, including many poems that appeared in the *Shin Kokinshū*. "Newfangled, unprecedented Bodhidharma verse" (*shingi hikyo Daruma-uta* 新儀非拠達磨歌) provides us with three clues as to what this style might have entailed: novelty, a break with tradition, and semantic opacity.[9] Although the term was meant to be pejorative, it is helpful as a place to begin in defining the Bodhidharma style.

Mumyōshō

Another important explicit text for understanding the new style is *Mumyōshō* (Untitled commentary), a collection of anecdotes and opinions written between 1211 and 1216 by Kamo no Chōmei (1154–1216), the Shinto priest and recluse who is best known for his essay *Hōjōki* (Account of a hermitage, 1212). Chōmei assisted in the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū* and had a modest number of poems included in imperial anthologies. (He was a talented poet, but was not descended from one of the leading aristocratic lineages, so he could not be appointed as a compiler.) Chōmei addressed the new style, twice using the specific term *Daruma,* in an extended discussion, written in the form of a dialogue:

> Someone asked, "The poetic styles of recent times are divided into two factions. Those who hold to the style of the past regard contemporary poems as halfhearted, even mocking them and criticizing them as 'Bodhidharma School' and so forth. On the other hand, those who are fond

> of the current style dislike the old style, calling it almost vulgar, and boring. This resembles some kind of debate on religious doctrine, and there is no way to settle the matter. Being a novice, I am of course confused. How shall I make sense of it?
>
> Someone replied, "Insofar as this is a major dispute among master poets of the age, how can one possibly settle it easily? Nonetheless, human knowledge can reckon even the movements of the moon and stars, and the will of the gods, so I shall venture to say what I have gleaned myself, however vague it may be."[10]

The humility with which the respondent prefaces his explanation and the level of detail provided in the rest of his answer suggest that Chōmei, who has depicted himself up to this point as a person of modesty, is answering the question himself, regardless of whether the question was posed by a real interlocutor. The respondent embarks on a survey of poetic styles, beginning with the *Man'yōshū* and moving through the imperial waka anthologies, up to the seventh, *Senzaishū*. He emphasizes that restrictions on the limits of formal poetic diction eventually exhausted all of the obvious possibilities in waka, and poets were hard-pressed to innovate:

> At this point, people of the current age realized that over the generations poetic effect had descended into cliché and, returning to the styles of antiquity, they began to imitate the *yūgen* style. Those who practiced the old style were shocked by this—they mocked and criticized it.[11]

The term *yūgen* 幽玄 plays an extraordinarily important role in medieval Japanese aesthetics, originating in Buddhist texts and appearing in poetic treatises by Shunzei, writings on noh by Zeami, and numerous other works by other writers. It denotes a certain obscurity, or mystery (the characters mean literally "faintly dark"). In many cases, this obscurity provides aesthetic satisfaction. By using the term *yūgen*, Chōmei favors the newer generation of poets by aligning them with an established tradition of poetic practice. Although he paints himself as a mere observer, not a participant, in the dispute, it is clear that his sympathies lie with the innovators.

Chōmei goes on to praise the new style, saying that it is difficult to master but, once the practitioner becomes accustomed to composing in it, more likely to produce fine verses. He cautions, however, against its misuse:

> Needless to say, it would be preposterous for someone lacking in taste to attempt this without having ascended all the way to the summit. It is like a lowborn woman who learns that she should put on makeup, and smears various things all over her face just as she pleases. People of this sort do not compose on their own; rather, they snatch up phrases that others have discarded and imitate them. Phrases like *tsuyu sabite* 'the dew grows weak'; *kaze fukete* 'the wind grows late'; *kokoro no oku* 'deep inside the heart'; *aware no soko* 'the depths of pathos'; *tsuki no ariake* 'the dawn of the moon'; *kaze no yūgure* 'an evening of winds'; and *haru no furusato* 'the hometown of spring' may have been unusual at first, but twice used they appear as if one is merely imitating a careless habit of speech. Or perhaps one tries to write about something that is only vaguely contained in one's mind, but, in the end, one does not even comprehend it oneself. This is bound to result in nonsense. Poems such as these are beyond the pale of *yūgen.* Indeed, they are precisely what is meant by the term "Bodhidharma School."[12]

This is a very fruitful passage. First, Chōmei emphasizes the importance of the poet's individual sense of literary aesthetics—*fuzei,* translated here as "taste." It is not sufficient to attempt the proper style; one must possess the ability to discern differences between lexical items, allusive sources, sentiments, motifs, and methods of arrangement, and to pick the right ones.

Two specific characteristics of an innovative style are adduced. One is the imitation of inverted syntax; the other is hopeless opacity. These qualities are associated with the Bodhidharma style, which is positioned as an ersatz version of the new, innovative style, associated with the value of *yūgen.* Although inversion and opacity are pinned to a poetic style that Chōmei took pains to differentiate from what Teika and his comrades were trying to accomplish, these two qualities are worth further consideration, especially inversion, since Chōmei has provided specific examples of offending usage.

Inversions and Substitutions

The first two phrases, *tsuyu sabite* and *kaze fukete,* present unusual combinations of subject and verb. When *tsuyu* 'dew' is paired with a verb, common possibilities are *oku* 'settle,' *otsu* 'drip, fall,' and *koboru* 'overflow.' There is only one known instance of *tsuyu* being paired with *sabite* 'age, decay,' but it postdates *Mumyōshō* by two centuries.[13] The

verb *sabu,* on the other hand, usually appears with the nouns *kami* 'god' (yielding *kamisabu* 'to possess an ancient, divine dignity') or *ura* 'interior' connoting 'heart' and often punning on the homophone *ura* 'bay' (yielding *urasabu* 'to feel lonely'). Perhaps the phrase *tsuyu sabite* refers to dew that has been sitting all night and is about to evaporate, giving it a forlorn aspect. Yet the combination of the two terms is not extant in Teika's time.

Kaze 'wind' frequently precedes *fukite* 'blows,' but the phrase Chōmei mentions is *fukete* 'grows late,' which should follow a word like *yo* 'night,' not *kaze.* Alteration of a single syllable turns a commonplace phrase into something unexpected. *Kaze fukete* 'the wind grows late' may mean that, as the night has grown late, the sound and feel of the wind have changed; it has grown colder, stronger, and more pronounced as other sounds have faded. This phrase is attested, in fact, in a poem by Teika that was included among the autumn poems of the *Shin Kokinshū:*

samushiro ya / matsu yo no aki no / kaze fukete /
tsuki o katashiku / Uji no hashihime[14]
On a chilly, narrow mat,
as the autumn wind grows late
while she waits through the night,
she spreads out the moon,
the maiden of Uji bridge.

For multiple reasons this poem is a good example of the poetic style Teika was aiming for. Besides the neologism *kaze fukete,* the figure of the maiden of the Uji bridge suggests the quality of ethereal beauty (*yōen*) that figures prominently in Teika's poetics. Moreover, this poem alludes to an earlier verse, an anonymous work included among the "Love" books of the *Kokinshū:*

samushiro ni / koromo katashiki / koyoi mo ya /
ware o matsuramu / Uji no hashihime[15]
Tonight again
is she spreading her robe
across a narrow mat
to wait for me,
the maiden of Uji bridge?

The *Shinpen kokka taikan* CD-ROM yields twelve other known waka containing *kaze fukete,* including one by Jien.[16] Unlike *tsuyu sabite,* this phrase is a valid linguistic identifier of the new style. Yet we should bear in mind that Chōmei does not criticize the use of such novel phrases by their creators but rather their slavish imitation by lesser poets.

Regarding the other phrases, there are no known examples of *aware no soko* 'the depths of pathos.' *Kokoro no oku* 'deep inside the heart' appears in a poem by Jien that is included in the *Shin Kokinshū:*

hana narade / tada shiba no to o / sashite omou /
kokoro no oku mo / miyoshino no yama[17]
Not for the blossoms—
I head there only to close a door
made of brushwood
and view the depths of my troubled heart
on splendid Mount Yoshino.

Kokoro no oku may be found also in a poem attributed to Narihira that was included by Teika in the *Shin chokusenshū.* The phrase was adopted by Teika and others in his coterie, especially Jien, who used it four times in his collected works.[18] Thus, what appears to be an innovation is actually a resurrection of an earlier phrase. This is neoclassicism, not iconoclasm. The Rokujō also engaged in this practice, but they tended to revive obscure archaisms from the *Man'yōshū* rather than from the relatively more accessible texts of the early Heian period.

Although *aware no soko* is not attested in poetry of the time, it is clear that both it and *kokoro no oku* entail the conceptualization of emotion in spatial terms. Thus we can reckon that Chōmei listed the first six phrases in pairs. The next pair presents customary phrases in reverse order. *Ariake no tsuki* 'the moon at dawn' sounds natural, but *tsuki no ariake* less so, perhaps even redundant.[19] In a similar way, *yūgure no kaze* 'the wind at dusk' has been altered to *kaze no yūgure* 'an evening of minds,' which does not sound strange, just unusual.[20] *Haru no furusato* 'the hometown of spring' inverts *furusato no haru* 'spring in one's home village.' It appears relatively often, including in this poem on the end of spring by Yoshitsune:

asu yori wa / Shiga no hanazono / mare ni dani /
tare ka wa towan / haru no furusato[21]

After today,
who will visit,
even rarely,
the flower gardens at Shiga,
home village of spring?

Similar phrases are discussed by Teika himself in his treatise *Kindai shūka* (Superior poems of our time), a statement of poetic ideals and selection of exemplary verses that he composed for the shogun Sanetomo. Toward the very end of the treatise appear some remarks that amplify the main text, including the statement, "Distorting something that is simple and connecting things that do not connect refers to my view that phrases such as *kaze furi* 'the wind falls,' *yuki fuki* 'the snow blows,' *ukikaze* 'drifting breeze,' and *hatsukumo* 'first cloud' are unsightly."[22] In Teika's examples, as well, the suspect usages are presented in pairs, but each pair is composed of two expressions with swapped elements. The phrases would read ordinarily *kaze fuki* 'the wind blows,' *yuki furi* 'the snow falls,' *ukikumo* 'drifting cloud,' and *hatsukaze* 'first breeze' (of autumn). These examples are presumably meant to illustrate an observation that appeared earlier in *Kindai shūka;* disparaging a generation of poets preoccupied with novelty, Teika claimed, "They devote themselves entirely to what sounds unfamiliar, twist what should be simple, and string together things without any connection between them. Are not there now a great many who intend to imitate these unseemly poems?"[23]

Of the phrases that Teika singled out for criticism, only the first may be located in *Shinpen kokka taikan* in a poem of Teika's time that matches the meaning intended. It is a poem by Yoshitsune composed on the topic of Shintō:

Inariyama / mine no sugimura / kaze furite /
kamisabiwataru / shide no oto ka na[24]
At the peak
of Mount Inari the wind falls
into a grove of cedars
and paper streamers rustle
with divine dignity.

Both Chōmei and Teika differentiated three groups: a conservative group that clung to the poetic style of the mid-Heian, which had grown

stale; a neoclassical group, the so-called *yūgen* poets, who wrote difficult verse that innovated within the constraints of the tradition, using *honka-dori* based on poems of the *Kokinshū* period, especially the pre-Kanpyō poets; and a third group, composed of poets who sought to innovate but merely imitated the phrasing and techniques of the second group and lacked the understanding, skill, and taste to write successful poems. We know who the members of the first group were: Chōmei lists by name Suetsune and Kenshō of the Rokujō. The second group included Jakuren, who is also named by Chōmei, and, by extension, Teika, Ietaka, Jien, and even Yoshitsune himself, whom it would be improper to mention.[25] But who belonged to the third group, the true "Bodhidharma poets"? There is no conclusive evidence to show that such a group actually existed. Perhaps lesser poets imitated Teika and the others, but their efforts were not preserved for posterity. Or, perhaps, Teika and his sympathizers conjured them in order to advance an alternate narrative, and position themselves in the reasonable middle of the spectrum, between the extremes of archaism and novelty for its own sake.

Waka iroha

While Teika's remarks in *Shūi gusō ingai* and Chōmei's observations in *Mumyōshō* are the principal sources for understanding the Bodhidharma style, there are other texts that merit attention. *Waka iroha* (A primer for waka), written by the Buddhist monk Jōgaku (1147–1226) in 1198, was reviewed by the Rokujō poet Kenshō at the request of the author, and later presented to Retired Emperor Go-Toba. As its title indicates, it is a guide for beginning poets, including lists of place names, short biographies of famous poets, information about "poetic defects" (*kabyō*), and explications of difficult poems. Kenshō's role in its creation suggests that Jōgaku's views were aligned with those of the Rokujō school, but his stance toward the Bodhidharma style is curiously favorable. In a section about the ideal balance between meaning and diction in a poem, Jōgaku states:

> Unexceptional poems convey only meaning, and tend to avoid intricate phrases (*shūku*) that are beyond description. Intricate phrases should emerge naturally from the diction, and indirectly. It is bad to arrange one's words around the intricate phrases. Also, all of the poets of recent times are fond of composing Bodhidharma [-style poems]. One must

absolutely not join the Bodhidharma school without having natural talent. For good poems, one should simply compose them in a single burst, intently, with the wording and sentiments mutually matched.[26]

Jōgaku never explicitly defines Bodhidharma poetry, but we can infer by what precedes and follows his remarks on it that it entails, in his view, a distortion of the crucial balance between meaning and diction. Bodhidharma poets use "intricate phrases"—words that attract attention to themselves, including pivot words. Bodhidharma poets are making poems out of words, not out of ideas; they are privileging imagery and sound at the expense of meaning. Despite these warnings, Jōgaku concedes that poets who are successful in the Bodhidharma style are naturally gifted, and his remarks suggest that in the hands of lesser talents, the style can be abused. While Jōgaku is not as generous as Chōmei in distinguishing clearly between the Bodhidharma school and the modern style, the implications of his statements are the same. Like Chōmei, Jōgaku locates the distinguishing characteristics of the Bodhidharma style in an emphasis on poetic language, especially novelty in diction.

An example of what Jōgaku meant by intricate phrases and how to handle them appears in Shunzei's treatise on poetry, *Korai fūteishō*. In the course of a discussion of notable poems from the third imperial waka anthology, *Shūi wakashū,* Shunzei cites the following verse:

Satsukiyami / Kurahashiyama no / hototogisu /
obotsukanaku mo / nakiwataru ka na
During the nights
of the fifth month, even the calls
of the cuckoo
on Mount Darkbridge
are muffled in the night.

The verse includes a *kakekotoba* on *kurashi* 'dark,' modifying the nights of the fifth month and *Kurahashiyama* 'Mount Kurahashi,' lit. 'Mount Darkbridge.' *Satsuki* 'fifth month' leads directly into *yami* 'dark night' because the moon and stars are seldom visible during the rainy season, but it is also associated with *hototogisu* 'cuckoo.' The poem synesthetically conflates the dim visual conditions of this season and place with a muffling of the cuckoo's call.

Shunzei praises the poem and says that it forms the stylistic basis for poets in his own time, but he faults them for being overly reliant on intricate phrasing, and questions the worth of pursuing this kind of style intensely (*hitoe ni*). He continues by citing this one:

ayashiku mo / shika no tachido no / mienu ka na /
Ogura no yama ni / ware ya kinuran
Strangely enough,
I cannot see the spot
where the deer stands.
Have I arrived at Mount Ogura
of the slender darkness?

The speaker is having difficulty seeing a deer. He playfully poses the question whether that might mean he has tracked it to Mount Ogura, punning on the adjective *ogurashi* 'dim.' Shunzei concludes by saying that one should "yearn" for the type of intricate phrases that appear in these poems.[27]

Although Jōgaku was aligned with the Rokujō and Shunzei led their rivals, the Mikohidari, Jōgaku continued his remarks by quoting a statement that Shunzei appended at the end of his judgments of *Minbukyō-ke utaawase* (Poetry contest at the residence of His Lordship the Minister of Civil Affairs, 1195). Referring to the judgment of "a brilliant talent of the present age," Jōgaku approvingly quotes Shunzei: "Poetry is not necessarily something that one writes in the manner of an official painter who uses every possible color to display his abilities, or a court carpenter who carves a block of wood every which way he can. One should simply compose in a style that seems alluring at a single glance, and sounds intriguing."[28] The peculiar agreement of Jōgaku and Shunzei on this point reveals that the dispute over the new style was not a polar opposition but a spectrum, with the participants occupying various positions from one end to the other and points in between. Although Shunzei defended Teika and the others against claims of obscurity, the new style was not his style. He was preoccupied above all with *yūen* (and not *yūgen,* in my view) a gentle allure that seemed to arise spontaneously, naturally, and almost casually from a cultivated and refined sensibility through elegant phrases and admirable sentiments.

Kinugasa naifu uta no nanji

Other texts address the Bodhidharma style more obliquely, but they are associated with the principal figures behind it. Teika addressed the Bodhidharma style by name in a letter believed to have been to Ietaka as both poets were preparing sets of hundred-poem sequences on famous places at the command of Emperor Juntoku in 1215. Although Teika and Ietaka are sometimes described as "rivals," this document shows that Teika valued Ietaka's opinion highly and that they evaluated drafts of each other's poems. The letter discussed poems by both Ietaka and Teika, but the most interesting comment refers to the following poem by Teika, written on the topic "Mount Hatsuse":

Hatsuseme no / narasu yūbe no / yamakaze mo /
aki ni wa taenu / shizu no odamaki[29]
Evenings, when the wind
off the mountain rustles
the mulberry thread
familiar to a Hatsuse woman,
her humble spool cannot endure the autumn.

This poem is extraordinarily complex and richly allusive. Although the topic was "Mount Hatsuse," Teika is the only poet participating who wrote on something slightly different, the weaving women of Hatsuse in the Nara region, celebrated in the *Man'yōshū* for the white thread they made from the fiber of mulberry trees and wove into the shape of flowers:

hatsuseme no / tsukuru yūhana / miyoshino no /
taki no minawa ni / sakinikerazu ya[30]
The barken-cloth flowers
Fashioned by the girls of Hatsuse—
Have they not come to bloom
In the foam beneath the torrent
That plunges at fair Yoshino?[31]

Teika's poem puns on *yū* 'tree fiber' and *yūbe* 'evening.' It also activates two meanings of *narasu:* 'to rustle' and 'to be familiar with.'[32] A second *honka-dori* occurs at the end of the poem. "Humble spools"

(*shizu no odamaki*) is part of the poetic lexicon, and the *locus classicus* is this verse from *Ise monogatari,* section 32:

> *Inishie no / shizu no odamaki o / kurikaeshi /*
> *mukashi o ima ni / nasu yoshi mo ga na*
> An old folk spindle
> Of the kind they used to use:
> Would I had the skill
> To wind back the thread of time
> And make the past today![33]

Translated here as "an old folk spindle," *shizu no odamaki* refers to a kind of spool or spindle for winding thread made from tree fiber; *shizu* refers to a kind of thread made from fiber and is a homophone for *shizu* 'humble, lowborn.' In the *Ise* poem, the "man of old" (traditionally identified as Narihira) sends this poem to a former lover. It expresses his wish to "rewind" the past (in the manner of an audio or video tape) as one winds thread back onto a spool, and to be with her once again. She never replies.

Putting the poem back together again and filling in its associative gaps, we can imagine an evening in autumn. A woman of Hatsuse is working her thread, winding it onto the spool. The wind comes blowing hard down the mountain nearby, rustling the rough fibers, and she is filled with longing and nostalgia. Perhaps she is the woman who, to her regret, never responded to the poem her old lover sent, and now spends her evenings alone?

Teika's poem is not easily parsed: not only does it depend on two foundation poems, but the pun on *yū* interrupts the syntactic flow of the verse, and the subject of the last lines is unclear. Literally, it says that the spool cannot endure autumn. How could this be? Does the wind blow it too hard? Or, more likely, does the spool metonymically represent the weaving woman? Why does she find autumn so painful? Does the wind blow too hard, too cold? Does it chill her fingers as she plies her thread? The allusion to Narihira's poem, however, suggests that the real cause is a lost love.

Teika himself seems to have recognized these difficulties, even before he submitted it. In his note to Ietaka, he wrote:

> It is different from what one imagines from the first five syllables. Although it is disappointing that she is not at all the sort of person who

> rustles the skirts of her silk robes on the floor, I expressed *tsukuru yūhana* 'The barken-cloth flowers / Fashioned . . .' as *narasu yūbe no* 'rustles / the mulberry thread / familiar to . . . ,' and as for *shizu no odamaki* 'her humble spool,' I thought one might think of *mukashi o ima ni* 'make the past today.' This comes off as intense thinking in the Bodhidharma spirit.[34]

The opening phrase of the poem, *Hatsuseme* (woman of Hatsuse), summons the lovely, auspicious image of the *Man'yōshū* poem, but Teika consciously took it into a different tonal direction, giving it a sense of melancholy in the phrase *aki ni wa taenu* (unable to endure autumn). He then seems compelled in his explanation to apologize for writing about a woman of relatively low status. This can only be because his poem is, in fact, about (lost) love; if it were only about weaving, there would be no need to defend his choice, but one might expect a court lady in a love poem. Having invoked the *Man'yōshū* poem in the first phrase, Teika continues the allusion more subtly in the second line, using only the word *yū,* and embedding it in the pun on *yūbe.* Rather than stating outright that the woman longs for the past, he hints at it instead, with the phrase *shizu no odamaki* 'humble spool.' On the surface, it seems to be related to the woman's work, but it calls up the world of *Ise,* and transforms an ordinary weaving-woman into a figure of sadness with a romantic past. Teika put a great deal of thought into this poem—it is extraordinarily dense, rich, and subtle—and it takes a fair amount of knowledge and understanding to unpack its meaning. He knew, before sending it, that it might be criticized as a Bodhidharma-style poem and told Ietaka as much.

Here we have, at last, the best idea of what Teika thought of the Bodhidharma style. Poems written in this way were relatively difficult to interpret, but only if one lacked a knowledge of old poems and the ability to recognize them in new contexts. There might be multiple *honka* used in a single poem, and the words of the original poem might be rearranged in such a way that they were not easily discerned. Furthermore, the atmosphere of the poem might be somewhat hidden, so that one needed to search for the sense of forlorn love that we see in this poem, all the more poignant for having been concealed. The process of interpretation might require some time, and multiple readings. Poems such as this are not puzzles, because one is not sure that one has "solved" them; they are a kind of mystery that we think we have come to understand but are never fully certain.

Omuro gojisshu

A similar instance of members of the new school using the term Bodhidharma style in the context of revising each other's poems appears in a document associated with a significant event of the period, *Omuro gojisshu,* discussed in further detail below. Fortunately, a draft of Teika's sequence is still extant, in addition to his final version, so we can learn something about the process of revision. Teika sent the poems to someone he trusted—possibly Shunzei, Jakuren, or Jien—who responded with notations approving the poems or suggesting changes.

Regarding two poems on the topic of travel, the unknown commentator writes: "These two poems are a good point at which to rally our group (*kettōsho*). Won't the Exoteric School have their vision clouded by Bodhidharma?"[35]

Here is the first poem:

> *tabigoromo / kinare no yama no / mine no kumo /*
> *kasanaru yowa o / shitau yume ka na*
> Well-worn traveling clothes
> and layers of clouds at the peak
> of a familiar mountain.
> In dreams of longing I pass
> night after night.

The speaker is a traveler, conventionally regarded as being on a journey away from the capital. He must have been traveling for some time, since he has grown used to his traveling clothes. *Kinare* connects the worn clothes and the mountain via a pun on the verbal forms *ki* 'to wear' and *ki* 'to come'; thus the traveler would also have come many times to the mountain in question. At the peak of this mountain the clouds are stacked in layers, like layers of clothing, and, likewise, night after night has passed on this journey. The traveler has dreams of longing for the beloved he has left behind in the capital, but the precise relationship between the longing (*shitau*) and the nights (*yowa*) is unusual; it is as if he is longing for the nights. The problem is *o,* which often designates the object of verb, but here *o* indicates the timespan during which an action is performed, a usage that usually appears with verbs that are associated with the passage of time, such as *fu, sugusu, okuru,* and *kurasu,* but with the flexibility afforded by poetic language, may be accepted here.[36] The speaker longs

for his beloved in dream, night after night, like the clouds that stack up above the peak, and like the clothes he layers upon himself. This poem is difficult but not unparsable, and provides another apt example of Bodhidharma poetry.

The other poem also relies on wordplay:

koto toeyo / omoi okitsu no / hamachidori /
nakunaku ideshi / ato no tsukikage[37]
Ask about something
that worries me,
plovers crying on the beach—
the light of the moon
after I left, weeping.

The speaker personifies and apostrophizes the plovers that are crying shrilly on the beach where he is traveling. The poem puns lightly on the double sense of *naku* as the chirping of a bird and the crying, or sobbing, of a human being, in this case the speaker, who shed tears as he left his home to set out upon this journey. It puns more heavily on *oki* 'offing,' associated with *hama* 'beach' and the compound verb *omoioku,* which means to worry about, regret, or be preoccupied with something. Moreover, the poem is said to allude an earlier verse from the *Kokinshū.*[38] This is a rich and deeply suggestive poem that handles subtly the topic of travel, using only the phrase *ideshi* 'I left.' It later won the approval of Teika's colleagues and Go-Toba, who included it in the *Shin Kokinshū.*[39]

So this remark gives us an idea about how the commentator—anonymous, but certainly someone close to Teika—might have conceived the Bodhidharma style. These poems suggest that it includes ellipticality, partly generated through *kakekotoba,* and partly through an indirect but firm approach to the topic.

Interestingly, the commentator uses a distinctive phrase to refer to the opposition: *kenshū* 顕宗 'exoteric school.' This term appears to be a pun on the name of Kenshō 顕昭, the leader of the Rokujō. It also represents an attempt by the Bodhidharma poets to redefine their poetic differences with the Rokujō. Rather than accepting the conflict as analogous to the difference between orthodox Buddhism and the newfangled, unintelligible Zen sect (symbolized by Bodhidharma), Teika and his colleagues called themselves the esoteric school (*misshū*) and their opponents the exoteric school (*kenshū*). It was the Rokujō school

that was inferior, for writing shallow poetry and being unable to fathom the profound but coherent writings of their opponents.

Jien's Uses of the Bodhidharma Epithet

Rejecting the Bodhidharma label and embracing the idea that these poets belonged to an esoteric mode of thought is not unique to the anonymous commentator. These terms also appear in an exchange of poems between Yoshitsune and his uncle Jien. Writing to Yoshitsune on a snowy morning toward the end of Kenkyū 2 (1191), Jien sent ten poems about the snow, the last of which reads:

> *hana yo tsuki / kasumesukoshi no / tsui ni nao /*
> *yuki no ashita mo / daruma narikeri*[40]
> Blossoms do not
> mist the moon, and as the year
> draws to a close
> even on a snowy morning,
> it's still Bodhidharma.

This verse contains an opaque line: *kasumesukoshi no*. In premodern Japanese texts, it was typical to omit phonetic markers that would indicate whether consonants were voiced or unvoiced. I propose rereading the line as *kasumezu koshi*. That is, the (plum) blossoms "do not mist the moon," followed by a light caesura, then "the end of the year" (*koshi*).[41] The poem's position as the last of the series is significant; it can be read as a comment on what has preceded it. To paraphrase, Jien deprecates his compositions by saying, "The plum blossoms have not yet bloomed, so their thick fragrance does not seem to mist the moon, and as the old year ends and the new year begins, even on a serene and still morning with a fresh snowfall, I am still writing Bodhidharma-style poems, mere gibberish, like these."

Yoshitsune wrote back, and his last verse of ten about the snow contains his reply:

> *ina Daruma / hito da ni mo nashi / yuki no uta /*
> *fukaki kokoro wa / misshū to iwan*[42]
> No, you are not
> a Bodhidharma person at all.
> I would say that your poems

on snow, deep in meaning,
belong to the Esoteric School.

As etiquette dictates, Yoshitsune must strenuously reject his uncle's self-deprecating remarks: "Your poems are not Zen gibberish at all. Their meaning is as deep as the snow piled high outside my window, and they are as to ordinary verses as esoteric Buddhist teachings are to their exoteric counterparts."

Another poem by Jien, written on a different occasion, and a response by Shunzei also engaged the esoteric/exoteric distinction. Jien wrote:

mitsu no ya o / takama no yumi ni / sashihagete /
kenshū no mato ni / hikihazushitsuru
I nocked
the esoteric arrow
to the bow of Takama
and missed the target
of the exoteric school.

Shunzei replied:

nao tanomu / takama no yumi o / hanachikeru /
temoto ni hibiku / mitsu no ya no oto[43]
I still trust
in the sound of the esoteric arrow
whizzing near
the hand that lets it fly
from the bow of Takama.

The phrase "bow of Takama" (*Takama no yumi*) is a rare usage, but the place name Takama commonly appeared in waka poetry—also called Kazuraki, and now known as Mt. Kongō, it was an important base for ascetic monks who practiced Shugendō. As such, it is an appropriate epithet for the robust esoteric sectarianism hinted at by the martial metaphor.

Kubota suggests that the similarity in sound between *kenshū* (exoteric school) and the name Kenshō made the choice of terms even more appropriate.[44] He does not go far enough, however; it is not a mere matter of homophony but of homology. The first character of

Kenshō's name 顕 is derived from the name of his adoptive father, Akisuke 顕輔, who inherited it from his father, Akisue 顕季. The epithet *kenshū* is not just an echo of Kenshō's name; it is a pun that means both "exoteric school" and "the lineage of poets with the character *ken* in their names." At one level, it is an innocent descriptive label; on another it wittily mocks the Rokujō with their own chosen names. Moreover, the *kenmitsu* distinction did not apply only to the *Daruma-uta* debate. Teika's commentary on extracts from Kenshō's commentary on the *Kokinshū* is titled *Kenchū mikkan* 顕注密勘, meaning "Secret investigation of Kenshō's commentary," but also "Esoteric investigation of an exoteric commentary."[45] Although the circumstances of Jien and Shunzei's exchange is not known, if we read the poems in this way, it suggests an expression of regret on Jien's part in failing to defeat their common adversaries—whether through a fine sequence of poems submitted to a contest or a deft political move—and Shunzei's reaffirmation of confidence in Jien's powers, poetic and otherwise.

Association of Jien with the Bodhidharma School is richly ironic. First, as head of the Tendai school in Japan, Jien occupied the pinnacle of the hierarchy of elite establishment Buddhism, the entity that felt most threatened by the teachings of Nōnin and Eisai and orchestrated the attempt to ban them. Tendai monks are said to have demanded in 1194 that Eisai and Nōnin be prohibited from establishing the Bodhidharma school; their leader at the time was Jien himself.[46] The second is that reason and principle (*dōri*) were at the center of Jien's philosophy of history, which he applied in the famous history *Gukanshō*. In fact, Jien's fondness for and pursuit of reason have been cited as flaws in his poetry.[47]

ROPPYAKUBAN UTAAWASE

We can further understand the role of semantic opacity in the new style by examining it in practice, through a study of *Roppyakuban utaawase,* one of the most significant events of the period leading up to the *Shin Kokinshū,* and an extraordinarily valuable document owing to the intrinsic quality of the poetry, the diverse responses of the participants to finely focused topics, the judgments of Shunzei, and Kenshō's lengthy rejoinder. *Roppyakuban* brings to the foreground the literary conflicts and debates of the age.

The contest was sponsored by Yoshitsune and judged by Shunzei. Twelve poets, including Yoshitsune, each submitted a sequence of

one hundred waka poems on one hundred topics that had been distributed in advance. Half the topics were seasonal, and the other half were on love. The precise timing of the event was unknown, but Teika noted in his collected poems that the topics were distributed in 1192 and he composed his verses in autumn of 1193.[48]

Four affiliates of the Rokujō school, four affiliates of the Mikohidari school, and four largely neutral participants, three of whom were members of the Kujō family, took part. The poets were assigned to the following teams:

Left:

- Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, the host, writing under the pseudonym "A lady-in-waiting" (neutral)
- Fujiwara no Suetsune (Rokujō)
- Fujiwara no Kanemune (neutral)
- Fujiwara no Ariie, Suetsune's cousin (Rokujō)
- Teika, son of Shunzei (Mikohidari)
- Kenshō, Suetsune's adopted brother (Rokujō)

Right:

- Fujiwara no Iefusa, a high-ranking cousin of Yoshitsune (neutral)
- Fujiwara no Tsuneie, a cousin of Suetsune and Ariie's brother (Rokujō)
- Takanobu, son of Shunzei and Teika's half-brother (Mikohidari)
- Ietaka, a student of Shunzei (Mikohidari)
- Jien, Yoshitsune's uncle, writing under the pseudonym Minamoto no Nobusada (neutral)
- Jakuren, Shunzei's nephew and adopted son, Teika and Takanobu's cousin (Mikohidari)

The affiliations are somewhat porous; as we saw earlier, Yoshitsune and Jien were neutral by family lineage but hardly by aesthetics, in which they were closely associated with the Mikohidari, although the Kujō family patronized both the Rokujō and Mikohidari. Kanemune was close to Teika. Takanobu's poetic style is said to be closer to the Rokujō than to the Mikohidari, and the reverse is true for Ariie.

Nominally, the Left team won, with more wins (240) and fewer losses (161) than the Right team over the course of the six hundred rounds (there were 199 draws). On an individual basis, Yoshitsune compiled the best record (57 wins, 15 losses, 28 draws), but this should be discounted in view of his role as host, the highest ranking participant, and the scion of an illustrious family that was Shunzei's chief patron. That being said, his poems are considered quite fine. The real winner was Teika, who achieved a high ratio of wins (45-23-32) despite the absence of high rank or status. Of course, Teika was the son and heir of the judge, but this relationship did not confer as much benefit as social status. The loser by any measure was Tsuneie (18-61-21) of the Rokujō school. Kenshō, who also finished with a losing record (23-39-38), was so aggrieved by the decisions that he composed a lengthy tract, *Kenshō chinjō* (Kenshō's rejoinder), in which he meticulously criticized several dozen of the judgments, with copious citations of poems from earlier anthologies, especially the *Man'yōshū,* in a legalistic attempt to cite precedents and thereby justify his usage of diction rejected by Shunzei.

With regard to the problem of obscurity and intelligibility in poetic diction and conception, there are several rounds in which the comments made by representatives of each team and the judgment issued by Shunzei are particularly instructive. No judgment or comment mentions the Bodhidharma style by name,[49] but a term that appears dozens of times is *kokoroezu* 'I do not understand it' and its variants. Indeed, the word appears so often, it ought to be considered almost as important as more elevated standards of criticism, such as *yūen* 'elegant charm,' the criterion with which Shunzei's judgments in the match is most closely associated.

Representatives (*kataudo*) of the teams often claimed that the other side's poem was opaque. In a round between Teika and Jien on the topic of "Love with the moon as a metaphor," Shunzei finally lost his patience:

Left (draw) *Lord Teika*

yasurai ni / idenishi mama no / tsuki no kage /
wa ga namida nomi / sode ni matedomo

The moon's light
is just at it was when it rose,
hesitantly,

though only the tears on my sleeves
are still expecting him.

Right *Nobusada (Jien)*

oroka ni mo / omoiyaru ka na / kimi mo moshi /
hitori ya koyoi / tsuki o miruran[50]
As foolish as it may be
I imagine it—
are you too perhaps
alone tonight
and looking at the moon?

The representative of the Right stated that he could not understand the Left's poem. The representative of the Left stated that it was also difficult to understand why one would begin with the phrase *oroka ni mo* 'As foolish as it may be.'

The judgment stated that although each poem seems to possess meaning, it appears that the representatives of the Left and Right teams have said that they are unable to comprehend either one of them. Even were I to insist that I could in fact understand the poems, would it be of any use? Given the circumstances, I shall call this a draw.

The criticism of Jien's poem singles out the propriety of the opening phrase, but there is nothing unusual about the poem. Teika's poem, however, is not necessarily transparent. My translation reflects a reading in which a woman has been waiting all night for a lover who never comes. It is the latter half of the lunar month, when the moon rises late and, now, at dawn, the moonlight looks the same, but she no longer has hope that he will come to visit her. The only thing still waiting for him at this point is the tears on her sleeve. One edition gives a different reading, which might be translated as follows:

Hesitantly, he left me
and has stayed away.
Under the moonlight,
only my tears wait for him,
upon my sleeve.

In this reading, *ideshi* 'left me,' a verb form we saw earlier in a different poem by Teika, refers to the lover's parting from his beloved at a

previous encounter. He was reluctant to leave her then, but never comes back. In my reading—which is also acknowledged by the editors—*ideshi* indicates not the lover's leaving, but the rising of the late moon.[51] Both readings are possible and plausible, but it is difficult to keep them both in play at once.

The Left's representative did not claim that Jien's poem itself was puzzling, but rather that the opening phrase was a bit strange. Teika's poem, on the other hand, is not easily deciphered. Perhaps willfully, Shunzei read the comments of both sides as professing confusion, and reproached the representatives by calling the match a draw. More important, however, he rejected the assertion that either poem was indecipherable, a stance that benefitted both poets. It was a tactful maneuver that allowed Shunzei to make his point without engendering unnecessary conflict, as might have been the case had he done so in a round between a Rokujō and a Mikohidari poet. (He made similar remarks in a later round on poems about "Love using the wind as a metaphor"; in that instance, the poets were Teika and Ietaka.[52])

Taste and Judgment in Medieval Japanese Poetry

Novelty was not really the distinguishing characteristic of the "new" style of poetry. After all, it was based in part on allusion to earlier poems, and its practitioners were eager to differentiate themselves from a separate group of poets, perhaps entirely imaginary, that putatively sought only novelty in poetry, however unsuccessfully. What various observers saw as really distinguishing the new style from both the conservative Rokujō poets and the clumsy Bodhidharma poetasters was a certain sense of discernment in choosing sources for allusion, diction, and sentiment. Chōmei referred to the importance of *fuzei* (taste). It is this ineffable quality that separated the new poets from the rest.

Let us examine some rounds from *Roppyakuban utaawase* in which an allusion is made to *The Tale of Genji*. While both the Rokujō and the Mikohidari esteemed the *Kokinshū* and the *Man'yōshū,* although their approaches varied, the Mikohidari were distinctive in their especially high estimation of *Genji*. The rounds in which a discussion of *Genji* came to the fore reveal not only the differences between both sides in high relief; they give us an insight into taste and how it functioned in the contemporary discourse on poetry and other arts.

The best-known round of this type, indeed the most famous round of the entire match, is the thirteenth round of the Winter section, which

matched poems by Yoshitsune and Takanobu on the topic of "Withered Fields."

Left (winner): A Lady-in-waiting [Yoshitsune]

mishi aki o / nani ni nokosan / kusa no hara /
hitotsu ni kawaru / nobe no keshiki ni
Where will it leave behind
the autumn that I once saw?
Grassy meadows
changed utterly into a scene
of desolate fields.

Right: Lord Takanobu

shimogare no / nobe no aware o / minu hito ya /
aki no iro ni wa / kokoro tomekemu
Can one who has not
seen the pathos of fields
withered by frost
preserve the color
of autumn in one's heart?

The Right said that *kusa no hara* 'grassy meadows' did not sound pleasing. The Left said that the Right's poem was antiquated.

The Judge said that the Left's phrase *nani ni nokosan / kusa no hara* 'Where will it leave behind . . . grassy meadows' was elegant (*yū*). As for the criticism of *kusa no hara* by the Right's representative, it is a disagreeable one. The skill of Murasaki Shikibu in composing prose surpasses her talents as a poet. Moreover, the chapter "Banquet Beneath the Blossoms" (*Hana no en*) is especially elegant. A poet who has not read *Genji* is to be pitied. The Right's poem hardly seems deficient in content or diction. Nevertheless, it is composed in an ordinary style. The Left's poem is a fine one and should be declared the winner.[53]

Although this topic belongs to the Winter section of the match, both poems mention autumn. In Yoshitsune's, the speaker is longing for a memento of the beautiful colors of blossoms and grasses in the autumn fields, a wish that is frustrated by the withering of the grasses and their transition to the brown of early winter. It is an intensely visual poem that foregrounds its visuality with the word *keshiki* 'scene.' By contrast, Takanobu's poem is a meditation on the emotional aesthetics

of autumn, and reminds the reader that perceiving the splendor of autumn scenery is but one aspect of the experience, equaled, if not superseded, by the sight of the season's foliage withered by winter. It may or may not be an interesting or novel statement, but the point is stated so directly that there is not much in the way of artistry.

The real importance of the round, however, lies in the judgment. Someone on the Right team ventured to criticize the phrase *kusa no hara* 'grassy meadows' in Yoshitsune's poem. Shunzei implied that the phrase was sanctioned solely by virtue its inclusion in *Genji monogatari,* and that the critic failed to appreciate this because he had not read *Genji.*

There is indeed a poem in the "Hana no en" chapter of *Genji* that includes the phrase *kusa no hara*. It appears in a scene in which the hero, Hikaru Genji, makes his way to a palace in the imperial compound after a blossom-viewing party, and meets an attractive young woman. They enjoy a tryst together and, before Genji leaves, he asks her name so that he may find her again. She replies with a poem:

> *ukimi yo ni / yagate kienaba / tazunete mo /*
> *kusa no hara o ba / towaji to ya omou*
> If my miserable self
> should finally disappear
> from this world,
> even if you searched for me, I doubt
> that you would visit the grassy meadows.

The woman, called by tradition Oboruzukiyo (Misty Moon), replies to Genji's question with a profession of misery (she is going to die because her reputation is ruined) and a questioning of his sincerity (he does not truly love her).

This is not a particularly famous scene in the tale, but it may have attracted Shunzei's attention because of the line that immediately follows it: *to iu sama, en ni namamekitari* 'Her appearance when she uttered the poem was charming (*en*) and alluring (*namameki*).'[54] That is to say, a quality that Murasaki Shikibu ascribed to this fictional woman (*en*) was ascribed in turn by Shunzei to Yoshitsune's poem and to many others that won Shunzei's approval.

The poem is not dropped entirely in the course of the story. A few pages later, Genji recalls Oborozukiyo with fondness and affection. The tale says: "All he had on his mind was the way she looked

when she said *kusa no hara o ba* 'the grassy meadows.' "[55] Rather than the phrase itself, which is quite plain, it is the way that Oborozukiyo uttered it to Genji that commands his attention and, by the extension, that of the tale's readers, including Yoshitsune and Shunzei.

In round thirteen of the second book of Summer poems, the topic is *yūgao* 'evening glory' (literally 'evening face') and the poets are Yoshitsune and Iefusa. This round is perhaps the first use of the *yūgao* plant as a topic in *utaawase.*[56] "Yūgao" is also the title of one of the early chapters of *Genji,* and is associated with a beautiful young woman of noble lineage who was living in straitened circumstances when Genji discovers her. He begins an affair with her, and they are alone at a deserted mansion when she dies suddenly. It is hinted that she was murdered by the living spirit of Lady Rokujō, a former lover of Genji. The *yūgao,* a humble gourd that produces blossoms in the evening that shrivel up in the morning, functions in the tale as a symbol of the woman's beauty amid reduced circumstances and of her brief life.

Left: A Lady-in-waiting (Yoshitsune)

katayama no / kakine no hikage / hono miete /
tsuyu ni zo utsuru / hana no yūgao

Sunlight shines
dimly through the fence
on the hill
and reflected in dewdrops
is the blossoming evening glory.

Right (winner): Supernumerary Master of the Empress' Household (Iefusa)

orite koso / mirubekarikere / yūtsuyu ni /
himo toku hana no / hikari ari to wa

I should break it off first,
then look at it—
if there is light
on the flower that undoes its strings
in the evening dew.

The Right said that although [the Left's poem] mentioned *yūgao,* was not the expression of the topic rather weak? The Left said that the Right's

> poem focused intensely on *The Tale of Genji* exclusively, and doubted whether it was suitable material for a poetry match.
>
> The Judge wondered whether the Left poem's expression of the topic was indeed weak. But why say *hana no yūgao* 'blossoming evening glory' instead of *yūgao no hana* 'blossoms of the evening glory'? This is a departure from the topic; is it not novel? The Right's poem does focus intensely on *The Tale of Genji,* but the style of the poem is not bereft of elegance (*yū*). The Right's poem surpasses "the blossoming evening glory."

The Right's criticism of Yoshitsune's poem likely owed to its not engaging any of the particular characteristics of the *yūgao* plant; the same poem could have been written about many other flowers. Shunzei brushed that flaw aside, instead focusing on the poem's inversion of the phrase *yūgao no hana.* We will recall that this kind of inversion, or anastrophe, was singled out by Chōmei and Teika alike as a characteristic practice of poets who unsuccessfully sought to write in the Bodhidharma style. Shunzei called it *mezurashi* 'novel' or 'unusual,' which typically has positive connotations. (The poet was, after all, his patron Yoshitsune.) It would be hard to criticize novelty in a poem written on a topic which is itself unusual, if not unprecedented, for a poetry match, and Shunzei may have been less sure of what should be expected from a poem on such an unfamiliar topic.

The Left's criticism of Iefusa's poem seems to be that it is about the "Yūgao" chapter of *Genji,* rather than the plant itself. It would be acceptable to somehow allude to *Genji,* but not so directly or intensely (*hitoe ni*). Shunzei did seem to allow intensity as a possible defect, but discounted it because the overall effect of the poem was pleasing.

To form a deeper picture of these remarks, we should consider an exchange of poems in *Genji* that was not quoted directly in the discussion, but surely was consulted by both poets when contemplating the topic and preparing to write. First, a poem sent by Yūgao to Genji, before they have even met:

kokoro ate ni / sore ka to zo miru / shiratsuyu no /
hikari soetaru / yūgao no hana
Guessing,
I recognized it.

A blossom of the evening glory
adding its light to the light
of the white drops of dew.

This poem professes a sort of elegant confusion—the whiteness of a blossom mingled with a white light refracted through dewdrops upon it. Thus the speaker was obliged to guess at the identity of the flower. The word *hikari* 'light' in the poem is an allusion to Genji's sobriquet, *hikaru Genji* 'shining Genji' and hints that she has figured out who he is.[57]

Genji replies:

yorite koso / sore ka to zo mime / tasokare ni /
honobono mitsuru / hana no yūgao[58]
Come closer
and see if you are right.
In the dusk,
dimly seen,
a blossoming evening glory.

Genji seductively challenges her to confirm his identity. If he is the light, then she is the blossoming evening glory itself, barely seen because it blooms only at evening. The word *yūgao* is interpreted literally, as a face seen at dusk.

The inversion of *yūgao no hana* that Shunzei found so unusual in Yoshitsune's poem actually comes not from Yoshitsune's willful inversion of a common phrase, but from the text of *Genji monogatari* itself. That is to say, Yoshitsune was not facilely attempting novelty for its own sake; he was simply alluding to Genji's poem. Despite his sincere veneration of the tale and its author, Shunzei appears to have missed the allusion.

Iefusa also appears to be alluding to this exchange: he included the elements of light and dew in his poem, and echoed *yorite koso* 'come closer' in Genji's poem with his own *orite koso* 'break it off.' What saves Iefusa's poem from degenerating into banal ratiocination ("The flower of evening glory closes up at daybreak; therefore, if sunlight is shining on it, I should break it off in order to look at it at my leisure") is the lines *yūtsuyu ni / himo toku hana* 'the flower that undoes its strings / in the evening dew,' with its subtly erotic

connotations—a woman undressing for her lover in the evening. In comparison, Yoshitsune's poem has little to offer.

But Iefusa's intriguing phrase, *himo toku hana,* appears in another poem in the "Yūgao" chapter. Genji takes his beloved to the deserted villa, yet still does not permit her to see his face. He recites the following verse:

yūtsuyu ni / himo toku hana wa / tamaboko no /
tayori ni mieshi / e ni koso arikere
The blossom that unties
its strings in the evening dew
is a karmic link
that appeared from a letter
delivered in the street.

The "strings" refer to the ties that fasten the woman's clothing, which she is about to shed. Genji observes that his encounter with this woman of exceptional beauty and charm arose entirely from a chance meeting as he passed through a road next to her house, and from the poem that she sent him on her fan.

After this poem, Genji says, "What do you think of the light (*hikari*) on the dew?" She replies:

hikari ari to / mishi yūgao no / uwatsuyu wa /
tasokaredoki no / sorame narikeri
The light I saw
as I gazed on the dewdrops
on the evening glories
was just an illusion
in the twilight hour.

The commentators say she is being coyly playful, and suggesting that he is not as handsome as she thought. The phrases *hikari ari to* in the woman's poem and *himo toku hana* and *yūtsuyu* in Genji's poem find their way into Iefusa's verse at *Roppyakuban,* in addition to the echo of *yorite koso* in Iefusa's phrase *orite koso.* Perhaps because most of Iefusa's poem is composed of scraps culled from these three verses from *Genji,* the opposing side criticized his method of allusion. This suggests a philosophy of allusion: it must be oblique and eschew slavishness.

All this may sound reasonable and perhaps even unremarkable, but only a few rounds later the same phrase, *hitoe ni* 'intensely' is used in connection with another poem on the same topic that also alludes to *Genji:*

Left (draw): Lord Ariie

mugura hau / shizu ga kakine mo / iro haete /
hikari kotonaru / yūgao no hana
Even the fence
wrapped with vining weeds
glows with color:
the unusual gleam
of the blossoms of the *yūgao*.

Right: Lord Takanobu

tasokare ni / magaite sakeru / hana no na o /
ochikatabito ya / towaba kotaemu
It blooms,
hidden in the darkness
of twilight.
If I ask the name of the flower
of those from afar, will they reply?

The Right expressed doubt about the phrase *kakine no iro hayu* 'the fence . . . glows with color.' The Left stated that the *yūgao* did not appear in the poem *ochikatabito ni mono mōsu* 'I have something to say / to the people going so far away.'

The Judge said that, putting aside for the moment the phrase *kakine no iro* 'color of the fence,' the phrase *iro hayu* 'glows with color' was unacceptable. As for the Right's poem, in a verse written in response to the one to which it alludes, it says *haru sareba* 'when spring approaches.' This cannot refer to the *yūgao*. In *Genji,* it says simply that he was looking at some flowers that were blooming whitely, and recited the poem *ochikatabito ni* 'to those going so far away'; thereupon one of his retainers heard this and said, "They are called *yūgao.*" This usage is not incorrect. But this poem was composed with an intense focus on *Genji,* and it is not appropriate. It has turned out poorly because of *Genji.* Nevertheless, it is hard to award a victory to the Left's *iro haete* 'the color glows.' Why not call it a draw?

Takanobu's poem alludes to an anonymous *sedōka* (a verse in the archaic syllabic pattern 5-7-7-5-7-7) from the *Kokinshū:*

uchiwatasu / ochikatabito ni / mono mōsu ware / sono soko ni / shiroku sakeru wa / nani no hana zo mo
I say there,
you over yonder
in the distance!
Yes, it's me!
What are those flowers
blooming whitely by you?

The response poem mentioned by Shunzei is also anonymous and in the same form:

haru sareba / nobe ni mazu saku / miredo akanu hana / mai nashi ni / tada na norubeki / hana no na nare ya[59]
When spring approaches,
they are the first to bloom in the meadows
and one never tires of looking at them.
Should I tell you
the name of these flowers
without any gift from you?

The Left's criticism of Takanobu's poem lies in his citation of an earlier poem that has no direct connection to the *yūgao,* a fault that Shunzei substantiates by citing the response poem to show that the season is spring, and the unnamed flower could not possibly be a *yūgao,* which blooms in summer. Why, then, did Takanobu allude to this poem at all?

As Shunzei's judgment suggests, the poem also appears in *Genji,* at the beginning of the "Yūgao" chapter. Genji has stopped in to visit his ailing wet nurse when he catches a glimpse of some women in a house nearby peeking out at him. He sees some flowers blooming on a trellis, and murmurs the line *ochikatabito ni mono mōsu* 'I say, you there in the distance,' which his astute retainer recognizes as an allusion to the *Kokinshū sedōka,* and tells Genji that the flowers are called *yūgao*.[60] Takanobu blends this poem with standard images of the *yūgao* blooming at night. That is to say, he reads the *sedōka* not in its original context as a poetic dialogue in *Kokinshū,* but as a fragment

of another dialogue in *Genji.* Its connection to the topic of *yūgao* arises solely from its appearance in *Genji.*

Shunzei rejects this method of allusion, again using the phrase *hitoe ni* 'intensely.' By this he perhaps means that the allusion is too obscure and requires too close of a familiarity with the text of the tale. Although he would like to award the other poem the win, he finds the word *hayu* 'gleams' unacceptable for use in a waka. There are numerous examples of its use in contemporary waka, but Shunzei consistently rejects it whenever it appears in this match.[61]

While Shunzei regards a knowledge of *Genji* as indispensable for poets as a source of allusion, he discriminates between acceptable and unacceptable uses. We have seen in two cases that he rejects an allusion which leans too heavily on a single poem in *Genji.* Rather, as in Yoshitsune's *kusa no hara* poem, one should use a light touch.

Shunzei's philosophy on allusion is not limited to *The Tale of Genji.* He also applies it, for example, to allusions based on poems included in the *Man'yōshū,* which was as revered as highly by his rivals, the Rokujō, as Shunzei revered *Genji.* In an early round of the match, the Left criticizes the archaic phrase *Mutsuki tatsu* 'the first month begins,' used in a poem by Kenshō, as unfamiliar. Kenshō, or a teammate, responds by saying that the phrase appears in *Man'yōshū,* as if that in itself were sufficient. In his judgment, Shunzei asserts otherwise:

> even if a phrase may be found in the *Man'yōshū,* I am not of the view that it can be adduced indiscriminately as evidence in a poetry contest. A late friend once said that one must adopt only the elegant parts of the *Man'yōshū.* This is because there are many poems in that anthology that do not sound pleasant.[62]

In another round, another phrase in a poem presented by the Left (written by Ariie, not Kenshō) is criticized as being unfamiliar; again, it is defended with the simple statement that it appears in the *Man'yōshū.* Shunzei's judgment says, "As I have said before, even if someone says that it appears in the *Man'yōshū,* I must not remain silent. Even with the *Man'yōshū* one must adopt and incorporate into one's poems those things that are fitting to do so." Shunzei detects traces of the *Man'yōshū* in the Right's poem (by Iefusa), as well, and calls the match a draw.[63]

Although Shunzei does not use the phrase *hitoe ni* 'intensely' in criticizing the poets' indiscriminate use of *Man'yōshū,* there seems to be some similarity between their faulty methods and the flaws Shunzei saw in the poems that alluded to *Genji* discussed above. They share a certain studiousness, literal-mindedness, and lack of subtlety. Ignorance is not an issue: Kenshō's knowledge of the *Man'yōshū* was greater than Shunzei's. But according to Shunzei's standards, Kenshō and the other poets did not understand how to use it; they could not discern what should be taken and what left behind.

Returning to the suggestive phrase *hitoe ni,* it also appears in a famous passage from *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in idleness), written about one hundred fifty years after *Roppyakuban utaawase* was held: *Yoki hito wa* hitoe ni *sukeru sama ni mo miezu, kyōzuru sama mo naozari nari.* "The man of breeding never appears to *abandon himself completely* to his pleasures; even his manner of enjoyment is detached."[64] Like so many passages in *Tsurezuregusa,* this sentence is devoted to articulating ideals of behavior, using the court aristocracy as its supreme model. *Yoki hito* 'the man of breeding' connotes social class and status. The person of higher class is *naozari nari,* detached, nonchalant; the person of lower class behaves with intensity, *hitoe ni.*

There are other examples of this attitude in the text. "Do not strive for elegance"; "it is best that a man not be given over completely to fleshly pleasures"; "You can judge a person's breeding by whether he is quite impassive when he tells an amusing story"; "A man should avoid displaying deep familiarity with any subject."[65] What these rules have in common with the criticism of *hitoe* is a valorization of reserve, restraint, effortlessness, and self-control. We are in the realm of *sprezzatura,* as described in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528).

It is not too far a leap to say that Shunzei had something similar in mind when he articulated his rules for poetic allusion. Moreover, this attitude also informed his approach toward writing and teaching the writing of poetry. He did not require philological study of the *Man'yōshū;* in fact, such study was by and large useless to him. Poetry required taste and sensibility, judgment and discretion. These things could not be taught or learned, and if they could be acquired, it was only through direct contact with a teacher.

Who could realistically benefit from such instruction? People who already had a certain type of sensibility or temperament, who were

"naturally" inclined toward restraint, elegance, and discretion. The Kujō family, sponsors of *Roppyakuban* and Shunzei's most important patrons, were such people, as were other members of the high aristocracy. To put it simply, Shunzei's ideal poet was the highborn courtier, born with natural talent that was nurtured almost from birth. It was acquired ability. On the other hand, the Rokujō alternative was scholarly; it required effort and diligence to pore through the texts of antiquity. This is not to say that the Mikohidari model required no effort; rather it must simply seem effortless.

This distinction between the seemingly effortless, acquired talent of the highborn and the labored, learned ability of the middle class is reminiscent of one articulated in the works of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, especially his most famous work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*.[66] In sum, Bourdieu claimed that social class (as measured by educational attainment and occupation of a subject and the subject's family) largely determined taste in music, home decor, film, and so forth, at least for France in the 1960s. Bourdieu posited three groups with distinct characteristics. The bourgeois, who had the greatest economic and social capital, saw themselves as natural, relaxed, and generous. They regarded the petty bourgeois as somewhat strict, rigid, and repressed, and the masses as outright gauche, clumsy, and childlike.[67]

Yet the bourgeois class is not monolithic. It is composed of old money and new money, of people who were born into it and people who recently entered it, via the acquisition of economic capital and education. Bourdieu observed:

> The differences in manner that indicate differences in modes of acquisition—i.e., in seniority of access to the dominant class—which are generally associated with differences in composition of capital, are predisposed to mark differences within the dominant class, just as differences in cultural capital mark the differences between the classes. . . . the opposition between the 'scholastic' (or 'pedantic') and the *mondain,* the effortlessly elegant, is at the heart of debates over taste and culture in every age: behind two ways of producing or appreciating cultural works, it very clearly designates two contrasting modes of acquisition.[68]

Bourdieu goes on to cite examples from a play by Molière and from early modern French manuals on etiquette to illustrate his point. One

quote sounds as if it came straight out of *Tsurezuregusa:* "It would have a man know everything and yet, by his manner of speaking, not be convicted of having studied."[69]

Thus we see striking similarities between two disparate court traditions that have no history of contact, the French and the Japanese. Although Bourdieu's analyses focus on modern French society, it should not surprise us entirely to find similarities between his findings and the situation at the late twelfth-century Japanese court, owing to the durability of court values in France.

In their implicit philosophies of allusion, Shunzei and Kenshō were staking out, respectively, the positions of the *mondain* and the pedant; Kenshō's attitude even veered into territory that we would associate with the petit bourgeois. Rather than contesting Shunzei, he voluntarily occupied that position, without realizing perhaps that it was disadvantageous. Kenshō's writing and submission to Yoshitsune of *Kenshō chinjō* is evidence of his obliviousness. At times Shunzei pressed his criticisms of Kenshō even further, when he claimed that parts of the *Man'yōshū* were vulgar, and that certain images contained it were frightening.

It should be noted that the easy grace praised by Shunzei is a cultivated one masquerading as natural; after all, it required years of study, practice, and instruction for Shunzei and the other poets to be able to write they way they did. As Bourdieu observes:

> The ideology of natural taste owes its plausibility and its efficacy to the fact that, like all the ideological strategies generated in the everyday class struggle, it *naturalizes* real differences, converting differences in the mode of acquisition of culture into differences of nature; it only recognizes as legitimate the relation to culture (or language) which least bears the visible marks of its genesis, which has nothing 'academic,' 'scholastic,' 'bookish,' 'affected,' or 'studied' about it, but manifests by its ease and naturalness that true culture is nature—a new mystery of immaculate conception.[70]

We should also bear in mind that the attitudes that Bourdieu sees in the French bourgeois may be found in *Genji monogatari* itself. Two statements that illustrate these tendencies are attributed to the Kiritsubo emperor, the summit of every kind of capital to be found in the tale. In the first one, he is recalling the sight of his son, Genji, dancing

at a banquet earlier that day: "In dancing and gesture, breeding will tell. One admires the renowned professional dancers, but they lack that easy grace."[71]

And later in the tale, after the emperor has died, Genji himself is meditating on the nature of art and talent at the end of a picture contest, conducted according to rules not unlike those governing *Roppyakuban utaawase*. He recalls something his father once told him:

> From my earliest youth I put my heart into my studies, and perhaps His Late Eminence believed that I might really acquire some knowledge, because he gave me a warning. He said, "What is recognized as learning commands weighty respect, and I expect that that is why those who pursue it to excess so rarely enjoy both good fortune and long life. One born to high station, or at least to an honorable position among his peers, ought not to carry it too far."[72]

Through these passages we can see that the method of alluding to *Genji* that Shunzei advocated is validated by the tale itself or, more precisely, by the common aristocratic consciousness that *Genji* described and that Shunzei possessed.

TAIGEN-DOME

Returning to the new style and the question of what made it new, let us conclude with an examination of a specific distinguishing feature, *taigen-dome* 'nominal termination.' Japanese sentences, whether classical or modern, typically end with a particle, a verb, an auxiliary verb, or an adjective. Ending with a noun is not impossible, but atypical in formal discourse. It appears to have risen dramatically in waka of the *Shinkokinshū* period, especially in poems by members of the new school. Therefore, it can serve as an index for poetic style, and the clarity with which it can be identified permits quantitative analysis, which in turn will enable us to study poetic style in a method that is not merely impressionistic or based on very small samples.

Taigen-dome is more prevalent in seasonal poems than in love poems, probably because seasonal poems often simply present a static scene rather than an action or a feeling. Therefore, in order to attempt any meaningful comparisons, we must attempt to control for this prevalence by comparing seasonal poems to seasonal poems, love poems to love poems, and so forth.

Table 1. Frequency of *taigen-dome* in seasonal poems of the *Hachidaishū*

Anthology	Percent
Kokinshū	7.9
Gosenshū	5.3
Shūishū	8.0
Goshūishū	11.8
Kin'yōshū	12.6
Shikashū	12.6
Senzaishū	21.2
Shinkokinshū	32.2

Figures are from Takeuchi Shōichi et al., "Nijūichidaishū ni okeru taigen-dome ni tsuite," *Nagoya Daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 9 (October 1961): 44, cited in Jorudāno Juseppe (Giuseppe Giordano), "*Shin kokin wakashū* ni okeru taigen-dome ni tsuite," *Dōshisha kokubungaku* 71 (December 2009): 3.

Table 1 shows the prevalence of *taigen-dome* in the seasonal books of the first eight imperial anthologies of waka.

All of the anthologies are cumulative; they include poems of earlier times as well as of the contemporary era. Nevertheless, each anthology tends to weigh the poetry of its own age more heavily than that of previous ages, so it is not unreliable as an index of the poetry of its time. We notice that the rate of *taigen-dome* remains in the single digits for the first three anthologies (*sandaishū*), rises above 10 percent in the next three, and then climbs above 20 percent in the time of Shunzei and above 30 percent in Teika's time. It certainly seems valid as a statistical proxy of a style that was preferred by Shunzei and promoted even more strongly by Teika and his fellow compilers of the *Shin Kokinshū*.

Roppyakuban utaawase is an ideal subject for this sort of analysis, as it entailed twelve poets writing one hundred poems each on the same hundred topics. There is no need to control for differences in topic, and the conversion from raw figures to percent is trivial. Did poets of different factions employ *taigen-dome* at different rates? Let us examine the results, in Table 2.

As one might expect, the Mikohidari generally make greater use of *taigen-dome* than do the Rokujō poets. But there are a few surprises.

Table 2. Frequency of *taigen-dome* at *Roppyakuban utaawase*

Poet	Rate	Affiliation
Yoshitsune	40%	Neutral
Jien	38%	Neutral
Jakuren	36%	Mikohidari
Teika	34%	Mikohidari
Ariie	30%	Rokujō
Ietaka	30%	Mikohidari
Takanobu	28%	Mikohidari
Kenshō	20%	Rokujō
Suetsune	20%	Rokujō
Iefusa	16%	Neutral
Kanemune	15%	Neutral
Tsuneie	4%	Rokujō

Although he was Teika's half brother, Takanobu's use of *taigen-dome* is lower than that of Ariie, who was affiliated with the Rokujō. This suggests that factional affiliations were not absolute. Moreover, with the exception of the hapless Tsuneie (who compiled the poorest record of any poet in the match), the two "neutral" poets, the courtier Iefusa and Kanemune, proved to be more linguistically conservative than almost all of the Rokujō poets. The struggle to create something new within the restricted space of classical waka was frustrated not only by the Rokujō, but by simple literary inertia among court poets for whom poetry was simply an avocation. Yet the avid use of *taigen-dome* by Jien and Yoshitsune suggests that, in a sense, the battle had already been won.

This fine-grained portrait of poetic style may be observed in the data for *Omuro gojisshu* as well, in Table 3.

Once again we find that the most conservative poets were not the Rokujō but neutral courtiers. Shukaku's extreme avoidance of *taigen-dome* shows that, stylistically, at least, he had more in common with the court circles into which he had been born than with the clerical circles in which he now moved. As we might expect, the Mikohidari were the most prolific users of *taigen-dome* and, of the Rokujō, Ariie was closest to them. Unusual, however, is the change in Takanobu's rate of use. He was its most reluctant practitioner among the Mikohidari at *Roppyakuban utaawase;* now he is its most enthusiastic.

Table 3. Frequency of *taigen-dome* in *Omuro gojisshu*

Poet	Rate	Affiliation
Takanobu	48%	Mikohidari
Teika	44%	Mikohidari
Ietaka	43%	Mikohidari
Ariie	37%	Rokujō
Shunzei	37%	Mikohidari
Jakuren	36%	Mikohidari
Kensei	32%	Ninnaji
Shōren	30%	Ninnaji
Kakuen	30%	Ninnaji
Kenshō	30%	Rokujō
Suetsune	28%	Rokujō
Zenshō	26%	Ninnaji
Sanefusa	24%	courtier
Kintsugu	22%	courtier
Takafusa	20%	courtier
Kanemune	18%	courtier
Shukaku	8%	Ninnaji (imperial family)

Nearly every other poem Takanobu contributed to *Omuro gojisshu* ended with a noun.

As mentioned above, the frequency of *taigen-dome* is higher in seasonal poems than in love poems and, perhaps because many of its participants were monks, *Omuro gojisshu* did not include any topics on love. Thus it is not really appropriate to use these figures to compare the use of *taigen-dome* in one event to another. When we compare only the seasonal poems of *Roppyakuban* with the seasonal poems of *Omuro,* the frequency of *taigen-dome* was slightly higher at *Roppyakuban.*

Conclusions

Teika's collected poems include more than four thousand verses, so it is not possible to do them justice in a single chapter. Therefore, I have focused on the style he and his colleagues created and refined in the late 1190s, called by turns the "Bodhidharma style," the "new" or "current" style, and the *yūgen* style. It meant various things to different observers, but may be described as more difficult than the poetic style

it replaced, highly allusive, and linguistically and conceptually innovative. This innovation, however, did not extend to going beyond the lexicon of the first three imperial anthologies. Rather, it demanded that practitioners reuse the old words in new ways, a dictum that will appear again below in our study of Teika's explicit writings on poetics.

The conflict over the new style has typically been depicted in dualistic terms, as a face off between the Mikohidari and Rokujō schools. Yet the extant sources suggest that, in addition to these two, there existed a third group, composed of clumsy imitators of the Mikohidari, who gave the new style a bad name. The Rokujō applied the Daruma-uta epithet to the Mikohidari, who rejected it and, in turn, applied it to poets of this third group. Perhaps it is going too far to call this third entity a "group," because no poets have been accused by name as having belonged to it, and no specific poems have been adduced as representative of their poetic practices.

Roppyakuban utaawase shows us the new style in practice, and the judgments by Shunzei both sharpen and blur the lines of dispute. One the one hand, the claims of incomprehensibility by critics of the new style are rejected by Shunzei out of hand. On the other, the new style possesses a certain intensity that Shunzei finds out of place within traditional canons of taste. In particular, the method of allusion is important; it should seem effortless, not studied, regardless of whether the source was the *Man'yōshū* or *Genji monogatari*.

The usage of *taigen-dome* at *Roppyakuban* and a later event that included some of the same participants, *Omuro gojisshu,* gives an even finer picture of the terms of the debate, suggesting that the Rokujō were exceeded in their conservatism by court poets who were not participants in the contemporary struggles for poetic power. Unlike the ersatz Bodhidharma poets, this fourth group, which included the powerful patron Prince Shukaku, was very real. By recognizing its existence we can posit that the staunchest resistance to poetic innovation during the late twelfth century arose through sheer cultural inertia.

Ushin and the Later Poetry

It is clear from statements made by Teika himself that he entered a poetic slump after the *Shin Kokinshū* was completed. Summoned by an order from the emperor to produce ten waka, he noted in his diary in 1212, "Since I have grown old it has become exceedingly difficult to write poems."[73] A few years later, in his treatise *Kindai shūka* Teika

lamented, "Needless to say, having reached old age, I suffer from serious illnesses and have sunk deep into grief; and so I have forgotten the hues of verbal flowers, and the wellspring of my mind has run dry."[74]

What is less clear is the extent to which Teika's views toward poetry shifted, whether as manifested directly in his treatises, indirectly in his poetry, or implicitly in his anthologizing activities. Did he repudiate his old style or, more broadly, the *Shin kokinshū?* If so, what took its place? Did he renounce the primacy of overtones, of leaving something unsaid? If so, do the poems he wrote and the poems of which he approved during this time seem more explicit, less ornate?

Much of the previous scholarship insists that Teika's poetry and poetics during this period revolved around the concept of *ushin* 有心. I hold a different view, but let us summarize the received opinion. For example, Brower and Miner write that Teika's poetic style shifted "from the ornate to the simple, from the highly contrived, fictional beauty of yōen, which he idealized in his youth, to the artful simplicity, directness, and passionate lyricism of his late style of 'conviction of feeling.'" After a slump following the death of Shunzei in 1204, Teika eventually resumed writing, but he had further abandoned *yōen* for *ushin,* to the extent that "in his *Maigetsushō,* written probably in 1219, he did not even include yōen among the ten poetic styles that he distinguished." Moreover, Teika's "new taste for poetry of an unpretentious, plain beauty (*heitambi*) is reflected in his choice of poems for the *Shin chokusenshū.*" Finally, "his fully developed 'style of intense feeling' is to be found particularly in the passionate love poetry that he wrote in his late sixties and seventies."[75] They cite a version that Teika composed in 1232, at the age of seventy, which is as lovely in their English translation as it is in the original:

hajime yori / au wa wakare to / kikinagara / akatsuki shirade /
hito o koikeri

Although I heard
From the outset that a meeting
Can only mean to part,
I gave myself to love for you
Unconscious of the coming dawn.[76]

In these remarks we have a compact summation of the ways in which *ushin* ostensibly permeated Teika's practice: in his poetics, his anthologizing, and his poetry. Let us examine them in order.

The fatal flaw of all studies that seek to situate *ushin* at the heart of Teika's late poetics is that they rely heavily on *Maigetsushō*. Yet the evidence that suggests Teika actually wrote *Maigetsushō* is not nearly as strong as the evidence that he wrote *Kindai shūka* or *Eiga no taigai,* and I do not believe that Teika was the author of *Maigetsushō*. Even the passage in which the *ushintei* (translated as "the style of deep feeling") is addressed in *Maigetsushō* undercuts the text's claim to authenticity:

> Those styles I regard as fundamental are the following four of the ten styles that I have designated previously: the style of mystery and depth, the style of appropriate statement, the style of elegant beauty, and the style of deep feeling. . . . Now among these ten styles there is not one in which the true nature of poetry may be felt more wholly to reside than in the style of deep feeling. It is extremely difficult to achieve, for it cannot by any means be put together in a facile manner by making use of one technique or another. Only when a person has completely cleared his mind and thoroughly immersed himself in the unique realm of this style is it possible to compose in it, and even then success is rare. It is for this reason, no doubt, that fine poetry has been said to be possible only when every poem is suffused with deep feeling. On the other hand, if one goes through excessive contortions in the effort to instill deep feeling into it, one's poem will be over-elaborate and contrived, and such ill-constructed, incomprehensible verses are even more ugly and distasteful than those which lack feeling altogether.[77]

Although this passage clearly places great importance on the *ushintei,* it never defines it. The *ushintei* is difficult to attain, and involves some sort of deep feeling, but the nature of that feeling is unclear. It seems unlikely that Teika would have placed this concept at the heart of his poetics without being able to explain it adequately—no poem or poet is offered as a model. Neither *Eiga no taigai* nor *Kindai shūka* even mentions the *ushintei.* Moreover, although *ushin* is never explicitly defined, the term connotes a seriousness, sincerity, and conviction of feeling. It is hard to argue that Teika ever took the composition of poetry lightly.

Regarding Teika's selections for the *Shin chokusenshū,* generations of readers have seen in them an uncomplicated sincerity, with some even going so far as to say that it surpassed the *Shin kokinshū*.[78] This is quite different from saying that it possessed *ushin* and, ques-

tions of superiority aside, is easier to accept. It is difficult to call this an outright rejection of the *Shin kokinshū,* however, insofar as any development beyond the age of the *Shin kokinshū* could hardly have gone in the direction of further intricacy, complexity, or ingeniousness. The only choices were stasis or simplicity.

Moreover, if *taigen-dome* is an adequate index of the poetry of the *Shin kokinshū,* then its prevalence in the *Shin chokusenshū* ought to have decreased if Teika actively rejected the old style. Yet, by my count, the rate of its use in the seasonal books of the *Shin chokusenshū* is 32.5 percent (144 of 442 poems), hardly changed from the figure of 32.2 percent in the same books of the *Shin Kokinshū.*

To conclude, I accept the argument that Teika preferred a more subdued style in his later years, although this seems to be inevitable based on the nature of the *Shin kokinshū* style, rather than an explicit rejection thereof. Nevertheless, I am not persuaded by claims that this simplicity or restraint was linked to the *ushin* style, owing mainly to inherent problems regarding the authenticity of the *Maigetsushō,* upon which such claims rely heavily. These problems will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Chapter Three

Teika's Poetics

What did Japanese poetry mean to Teika? What were his standards for good (and bad) poetry? By what mental process should poetry be written? How should a person go about learning to write verse? What was the nature of the relationship between the poetry of his age and the poetry and prose literature of previous ages? Between Japanese and Chinese poetry? Between experience and poetry? All of these questions and others are addressed in writings that can confidently be attributed to Teika.

Previous scholarship on Teika's poetics has been hampered, in my view, by a certain naïveté regarding the authenticity of works traditionally attributed to Teika. Specifically, for the reasons described below, I do not accept the texts *Maigetsushō* (Monthly notes) and *Teika jittei* (Teika's ten styles) as authentic. Whether various suspensions of disbelief were willed or unwilled is unknown and unknowable; but now that the Reizei family has presumably released all the relevant material in its archives, we cannot hope that a new source will appear that will authenticate these texts.[1] We have only the internal evidence, which is not persuasive, and the lack of autograph versions in the Reizei archive or elsewhere, which, while not decisive, hardly encourages credence. It stands to reason that, while not the primary goal of this chapter, a determination of the limits of Teika's theoretical oeuvre should be the first step taken.

Limits of Teika's Theoretical Oeuvre

For the sake of convenience, let us sort the various texts on poetics that have been attributed to Teika at one time or another into these three categories:

I. Texts that may be attributed to Teika with confidence
II. Texts whose authorship is disputed
III. Texts that are clearly forgeries

Our ultimate goal is a derivation of Teika's poetics from explicit statements about specific poems or about poetry in general; therefore this list does not include collections or anthologies, unless they include appended comments; it omits *utaawase* judgments that were decided collectively (*shūgihan*) or that were decided by Teika alone but without comment; and it includes only texts that principally address poetics (*karon*), not the adjacent realms of philology and protocol (*kagaku*).[2]

What follows is a grouping of these texts that reflects current scholarly consensus regarding questions of authorship. The relevant texts are described and discussed in detail below; for the time being, a rather schematic categorization should suffice.

I. Texts That May Be Attributed to Teika with Confidence

A. *Kindai shūka* (Superior poems of our time). Letter about poetry and list of exemplary poems sent to the third Minamoto shogun, Sanetomo (1192–1219) in 1209. Extant in two versions: the version "sent away" (*kensōbon*) to Sanetomo, and a revised version; the latter is extant in Teika's own hand. This text must serve as the centerpiece of any exploration of Teika's poetics.[3]

B. *Eiga no taigai* (General overview of poetic composition). Believed to have been composed in 1221 or later; said to have been sent to Prince Sonkai, son of Retired Emperor Go-Toba. Exists in both *mana* (*kanbun*) and *kana* (*wabun*) versions; the *mana* version is believed to be the original version and is extant in an autograph version by Teika's great-grandson, Reizei Tamehide.[4]

C. *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo* (Conversations with the Kyōgoku middle counselor). Collection of remarks on poetry by Teika collected by his disciple Fujiwara no Nagatsuna. Written 1229 or later.[5]

D. *Kinugasa naifu no uta no nanji* (Critiques of verses by the Kinugasa privy minister). Three brief letters to various courtiers concerning waka; the first one critiques poems by the recipient, Fujiwara no Ieyoshi (1192–1264).[6]

E. Preface to *Shin chokusen wakashū* (New imperial anthology of waka poetry). Short preface, in Japanese, to the anthology that Teika compiled alone; completed 1232.[7]

F. Judgments of *Miyagawa utaawase* (Poetry contest dedicated to the river at Ise Shrine, 1187). Poetry match in thirty-six rounds, with all poems by Saigyō. Decisions and judgments requested of Teika by Saigyō when Teika was still relatively young.[8]

G. Judgments of *Michitomo-kyō Shunzei-kyō no musume utaawase* (Poetry contest between Lord Michitomo and Shunzei's Daughter, completed by 1203). Fifty rounds of poems on the four seasons by Minamoto no Michitomo and his wife, Teika's niece; only about nineteen rounds are extant in fragments of draft version in Teika's hand.[9]

H. Judgments of *Sengohyakuban utaawase* (Poetry contest in fifteen hundred rounds, 1201–1203). Massive poetry match organized by Retired Emperor Go-Toba that included thirty poets, who took turns judging one another's poems. Teika judged 150 rounds.[10]

I. Judgments of *Dairi utaawase,* Kenryaku 3.9.19 (Poetry contest at the imperial palace, 1213). Relatively small match (eighteen rounds on three topics), sponsored by Emperor Juntoku.[11]

J. Judgments of *Dairi utaawase,* Kenpo 2.8.16 (Poetry contest at the imperial palace, 1214). Seventy-five rounds of poems on autumn by ten poets, sponsored by Emperor Juntoku; distinctive in that poets were matched one-on-one, rather than in teams.[12]

K. Judgments of *Iwashimizu wakamiya utaawase* (Poetry contest offered to the Iwashimizu Wakamiya Shrine, 1232). Fifty-one rounds on three topics.[13]

L. Judgments of *Hiesha utaawase* (Poetry contest offered to the Hie Shrine, 1235). Teika's last judgment, of forty-two poems composed by Fujiwara no Tomoie.[14]

M. Comments on *Nagatsuna hyakushu* (One hundred waka by Nagatsuna, 1226). Teika's evaluation of poems by his disciple Fujiwara no Nagatsuna, the compiler of Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo.[15]

N. Comments on *Juntoku-in on'hyakushu* (One hundred waka by Retired Emperor Juntoku, 1237). Last extant comments of Teika

on poetry; he evaluated a set of poems sent by Juntoku from exile on Sado and was deeply impressed and moved by them. Also includes significant verso notations (*uragaki*).[16]

II. Texts Whose Authorship Is Disputed

A. *Maigetsushō* (Monthly notes). Letter to an unknown recipient of high social standing regarding poetic styles and the process of writing waka. The Reizei family copy bears a colophon by Tamehide saying that it is a copy of an autograph version of a text by Tameie, but the colophons never mention Teika's name. No scholarly consensus exists on authenticity.[17]

B. *Teika jittei* (Teika's ten styles). List of about two hundred eighty waka, grouped in ten poetic styles, such as the *yūgen* style (*yūgen tei*), lofty style (*taketakaki tei*), demon-quelling style (*rakki tei*), and so forth. No scholarly consensus exists on its authenticity.[18]

III. Texts That Are Clearly Forgeries

A. *Usagi* (Cormorant and heron) texts. A group of four interrelated treatises: *Guhishō* (Collection of my foolish secrets); *Gukenshō* (Collection of my foolish views); *Kiribioke* (The paulownia brazier); and *Sangoki* (Record of the night of the full moon).[19]

B. *Miraiki* (Record of the future). Fifty waka on the seasons and love purportedly composed by Teika as examples of a decadent poetic style that would become prevalent in the future.[20]

C. *Uchūgin* (Poems chanted in the rain). Seventeen waka, ostensibly by Teika, whose imitation was forbidden, as the prevalence of such a style would signal the end of the art.[21]

D. *Waka tenarai kuden* (Orally transmitted teachings on waka). Supposedly a dialogue between Teika and Ietaka conducted before Retired Emperor Go-Toba on various aspects of waka composition.[22]

Beginning with the third category, there is little doubt that these texts are later forgeries, written either by Teika's heirs to enhance their own prestige as his poetic successors, or by outsiders wishing to exchange "secret" texts for symbolic, social, or economic capital. These texts are properly discussed within the context of reception history, and therefore they will be addressed in Chapter 5, "Teika after Teika."

Continuing with the second category, the authenticity of *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei* have been debated thoroughly, without a definite conclusion. In my view, these texts were not written by Teika. As we will see in *Kindai shūka* and other texts whose authenticity is unquestioned, Teika was highly reluctant to put forward a general theory of poetics. He seems diffident to the point of excess regarding his own understanding of the art. The author of *Maigetsushō,* however, lapses into immodesty. Moreover, the *Maigetsushō* author proposes an overarching taxonomy of ten poetic styles, a system that is also adopted and expanded by the compiler of *Teika jittei.* Yet although Teika's son Tameie repeats several of Teika's teachings in his own treatise on poetry, *Eiga no ittei,* and even mentions the term Ten Styles (*jittei*), Teika and the Ten Styles never intersect; Tameie's example poems show instead that he has in mind other, much earlier texts: *Waka kuhon, Wakatai jisshu,* and the Kana Preface.[23] This is not to gainsay the intrinsic interest or subsequent influence of *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei;* both texts repay close attention and were instrumental in shaping the views of Teika held by later poets, and indeed even likely shaped their views on poetry itself.

This leaves us with the fourteen texts in Category I. They may be further divided into the following subcategories:

1. Coherent, explicit statements on poetics: *Kindai shūka, Eiga no taigai*
2. A collection of comments on poetry: *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo*
3. Introduction to an imperial waka anthology: Preface of *Shin chokusenshū*
4. Comments on specific poems by contemporaries, whether in the context of a letter or a poetry match: (all of the remaining texts)

Let us examine each category in order, beginning with the most promising texts, *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai.*

Kindai shūka

There are two main textual lines in the transmission of *Kindai shūka.* One is derived from the *kensōbon,* or "version sent away," which is believed to derive ultimately from a letter and list of exemplary poems in Teika's hand, no longer extant, sent to the seventeen-year-old shogun Sanetomo in 1209, responding to a query from the young poet

about writing verse. Although the extant texts bear neither Teika nor Sanetomo's name, various colophons added to copies over time state that the text was sent from Teika to Sanetomo. Moreover, an entry in *Azuma kagami* for Jōgen 3.8.3 says that Naitō Tomochika, an avid poet and retainer of Sanetomo, returned to Kamakura from the capital, having delivered thirty of Sanetomo's poems to Teika with a request for evaluation. He returned the poems to Sanetomo with Teika's comments, and "also presented a scroll of oral transmissions regarding the composition of waka. This was because [His Lordship Sanetomo] had privately inquired regarding the *Rikugi.*"[24] (The *Rikugi* are the six modes of Japanese poetry mentioned by Tsurayuki in the Kana Preface to *Kokinshū;* because they are a rather unconvincing attempt to graft Chinese poetics onto Japanese poetics, it is not surprising that Sanetomo would have asked Teika for clarification.) It is believed that the "scroll of oral transmissions regarding the composition of waka" is the text known today as the *kensōbon* of *Kindai shūka.*

The task at hand is to elucidate Teika's poetics, not the relationship between him and Sanetomo, so I shall discuss the other version of *Kindai shūka,* a slightly revised and expanded version of Teika's letter, which is happily extant in an autograph edition. Teika appears to have kept a copy of the letter he sent to Sanetomo, changed some of the exemplary poems, and perhaps presented the new text to another person. In a brief preface Teika says that the text is from "long ago" (*sono kami*), which suggests that it was copied out by him after Sanetomo's death in 1219.

The preface continues with characteristic modesty and impressive circumspection:

> A certain person asked about how one should go about writing waka, and so I let my foolish mind take me where it would, and wrote down the few things I had come to fathom. There is no basis at all for what I wrote, and I simply jotted it down in plain language and sent it off. Although it is rather unseemly, these are my misguided thoughts, just as they are.[25]

Although we believe that Teika wrote this text for Sanetomo, he declines to drop names, whether out of habitual discretion, political considerations, or both. Modern editions tend to obscure the fact that Teika's text includes few kanji; it is not only conceptually simple but orthographically spare as well.

Then the text proper begins:

> The way of Japanese poetry appears shallow but is deep; it seems simple, but is in fact difficult. Few people understand it. Long ago, there was Tsurayuki. His poems were subtle in meaning and their loftiness difficult to equal; he was fond of a style in which the diction is strong and the conception (*sugata*) novel, and he did not compose in the style of overtones and ethereal beauty. Since then, the poets who inherited his tradition (*sono ryū*) have leaned exclusively toward this style (*kono sugata*). Nonetheless, as generations passed, people became dull in sensibility and unable to attain loftiness; their diction too grew vulgar. Needless to say, those of the recent generation are preoccupied above all with taking whatever conceit they have come up with and putting it into thirty syllables, without any grasp of the charm (*omomuki*) of conception or diction.

Teika begins his explanation not with Hitomaro or other early poets, but with Tsurayuki. This would certainly make sense if Sanetomo had asked about the *Rikugi.* Teika's attitude toward Tsurayuki's poetry is somewhat ambiguous. While praising Tsurayuki's style, he writes that Tsurayuki "did not compose in the style of overtones and ethereal beauty," which sounds negative. "Overtones" (*yojō*) indicates that a poem leaves something unsaid, for the reader to deduce. In the *Kana Preface,* Tsurayuki criticized the poetry of Narihira because "it has too much meaning and too few words."[26] "Ethereal beauty" (*yōen*) refers to an otherworldly romantic or erotic allure (such as we will see in *The Tale of Matsura*). Both of these aspects were prominent in Teika's poems, so if this is not a direct criticism of Tsurayuki, it certainly serves to differentiate Teika from Tsurayuki.

Rather than criticizing Tsurayuki, Teika faults his successors for vulgarity in diction and a lack of sensibility to the way a poem is put together.

> Therefore, the poetry of this latter age is like a farmer abandoning the shade of cherry blossoms, or a merchant taking off an exquisite robe. Nevertheless, there were some—His Lordship Tsunenobu, the Middle Counselor; Lord Toshiyori; His Lordship Akisuke, Master of the Left Capital Office; Lord Kiyosuke; and, in recent times, His Lordship my late father; and a person called Mototoshi, from whom he learned this art—who moved away from the vulgar appearances of this latter age, and longed ceaselessly for the poetry of antiquity. Do perhaps the best

> and most thoughtful verses of these poets equal even those of the older generations?

The metaphor Teika uses in the first sentence suggests that he indeed had Tsurayuki's "Kana Preface" at the forefront of his mind. Criticizing the poetry of Fun'ya no Yasuhide, Tsurayuki had written that "the diction is skillful, and the style does not suit him. It is as if a merchant were to don an exquisite robe."[27] Teika revises the metaphor to criticize Tsurayuki's successors.

He then names six poets as presumptive models for the recipient to emulate. The version sent to Sanetomo includes twenty-seven exemplary poems, all of which are by these six poets. In choosing six, Teika may have been rewriting the Kana Preface's critique of the six poets (Henjō, Narihira, Yasuhide, Kisen, Komachi, and Ōtomo no Kuronushi) who, strangely enough, were enshrined by later generations as the Six Poetic Immortals (*rokkasen*). Teika's list comprises three pairs of poets somewhat closer to his own time, all of them born a century or two earlier, and now gone: Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016–1097); his son Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055?–1129?, also called Shunrai); Fujiwara no Akisuke (1090–1155); his son Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–77); Teika's father Shunzei (1114–1204), and Shunzei's teacher Mototoshi (ca. 1056–1142?). Unlike Tsurayuki, Teika mentions his six poets in order to praise them. Their principal merit is that they have eschewed the verbal vulgarity of the present age and sought elegance in diction in the poetry of bygone days.

> In the present age there have been written many poems that diverge in some way from this vulgar appearance, and yearn for the diction of the past; and sometimes one can see and hear a style that died out after Bishop Kazan, the Ariwara Middle Captain, Sosei, and Komachi. Yet it appears that there are some who are obtuse in sensibility who say that something new has emerged and that the way of poetry has changed. But is this latter generation of students not in fact thinking only of the poems, while remaining ignorant of the style? They devote themselves entirely to what sounds unfamiliar, twist what should be simple, and string together things without any connection between them. Are not there now a great many who intend to imitate these unseemly poems?

Now we have some idea of what Teika means when he urges the emulation of antiquity. Three of his poets, Kazan (816–890; a sobriquet of Henjō), Narihira (825–880), and Komachi (fl. mid-ninth century),

were the object of Tsurayuki's criticisms, but Teika has rehabilitated them, adding one more, Henjō's son Sosei (fl. ca. 859–923).

He then attempts to forestall criticism that what he and other poets have been doing is newfangled and without precedent; that is, Teika seems still to be fighting the *daruma-uta* battles, some fifteen years after *Roppyakuban utaawase*. Although he does not mention his own poetry, it is apparent that he is defending himself by portraying his agenda as neoclassical rather than revolutionary, innovative, or progressive. He also tries to differentiate himself from other poets, whom he might like to label as actual practitioners of *daruma-uta*. Only seventeen, Sanetomo was at an impressionable age and Teika seems to be warning him away from linguistic innovation for its own sake.

> Although you do me the honor of supposing that I have come to understand this art in all its intricacies, I have merely inherited a name that has been passed down through the generations. At times I have been put to use, and at times I have been abused; nevertheless, lacking from the beginning a fondness for the art, I have not studied it in any way other than simply persisting in saying things that others would not allow. As far as the things my parent taught me in an offhand way, he said only that "Poetry is not an art that requires looking wide and listening far. It is something that originates in the mind and one comes to understand it by oneself." I have not reached a point where I can confirm that remark. Needless to say, having reached old age, I suffer from serious illnesses and have sunk deep into grief; and so I have forgotten the hues of verbal flowers, and the wellspring of my mind has run dry. I did not ponder continuously about various things, and eventually I stopped thinking about them at all. I shall simply say a few words about the style of poetry that I yearn and long for now, in my foolish heart, and nothing else.

Having furnished a context for his remarks, Teika stipulates some caveats before giving his reader some concrete advice. He has no special knowledge, has not enjoyed uninterrupted success in his poetic activities, has at times been criticized for them, does not really like writing waka poetry, never received systematic instruction from Shunzei, does not deeply understand the art, has lost his poetic inspiration, and has not thought seriously about poetry for some time. The tone, to say nothing of the complaint of illness, rings familiar to readers of the *Meigetsuki*.

> If one were to long for the old in diction, seek the new in meaning, yearn for a lofty, unreachable style, and imitate the poetry written before the Kanpyō era, how could good things not come about naturally?

This passage is the kernel of Teika's advice to Sanetomo, and also appears in *Eiga no taigai,* as discussed below. Words that lack the patina of age are to be avoided. Innovation is desirable, but not simply by expanding the boundaries of poetic vocabulary, because that would inevitably lead to vulgarity. Poets will create new poems by discovering new ways of rearranging the traditional lexicon. The tone should be elevated, not familiar or mundane. Teika's model is not the age of Tsurayuki (872?–945) and the *Kokinshū* (905), but of the previous generation: before the Kanpyō era (889–898).[28] In effect, Teika is saying that Japanese poetry has been heading in the wrong direction for the past three hundred years or so, with few exceptions. This is also a familiar sentiment in the *Meigetsuki.*

This statement marks the utmost limit of Teika's willingness to make abstract, explicit statements about the way one should write poetry. He devotes much of the rest of the text to explaining the practice of *honka-dori,* and setting out rules for its usage.

> As for cherishing and yearning for the old, I am referring to the practice of using the words of an old verse in one's poem without alteration; that is to say, taking it as a source verse. When considering the source verse, if one were, for example, to take the 7–5 lines of the 5-7-5 section and put it in one's own poem just as they are, and to continue in the same way with the 7-7 section, then it would not sound like a new poem.
>
> As for the 5-7 section, depending on the context, can it really be avoided? For example, *Iso no kami furuki miyako* 'The ancient capital near Furu and Iso no kami,' *Hototogisu naku ya satsuki* 'The fifth month, when the cuckoo calls,' *Hisakata no ama no Kaguyama* 'Mount Kagu of the distant heavens' and *Tamaboko no michiyuku hito* 'A traveler walking a road straight as the jeweled spear,' etc.—no matter how many times one may try, one cannot produce a poem without phrases such as these.
>
> I have taught that one must not use in one's poems such phrases as *Toshi no uchi ni haru wa kinikeri* 'Spring has arrived before year's end,' *Sode hichite musubishi mizu* 'The water I cupped in my hands, sleeves pushed back,' *Tsuki ya aranu haru ya mukashi no* 'Is the moon not here? And is this not the spring of long ago?,' and *Sakura chiru ko no shitakaze*

> 'A breeze that blows under the branches, scattering the cherry blossoms,' etc.
>
> Next, as for poems by those who are present in the world today, or even those who are not, but were just among us as if it were today or yesterday—one should like to avoid the appearance of having used even a single line of such verses.

It is clear from the beginning of this passage that by imitating pre-Kanpyō poetry, Teika does not simply mean drawing inspiration from it; he means incorporating lines of earlier poetry into new poems through a process of citation or transplantation.

The rules are fairly simple and bear an intriguing resemblance to modern copyright law. There are fair-use limits on how much of an earlier poem may be cited (four verses out of five is too much). Certain phrases have effectively entered the public domain through common use; others, even some that are centuries old, are so closely identified with a particular poem that they remain forbidden. Recent poems may not be mined for *honka-dori,* even if the author is dead.

Kindai shūka ends with a conventional profession of modesty, but it bears close reading in light of the unresolved debate over Teika's authorship of *Maigetsushō* and *Kindai shūka:*

> One simply reflects upon this sensibility (*omomuki*); there is nothing else to learn about good and bad or the appearance of a poem. Needless to say, regarding obscure teachings, although there are various explanations in various houses, I never heard any at all. Moreover, since whatever I have learned does not differ in the least from what has already been written or compiled by others, there is no need for me to write it down for the first time. It would be no different at all from the teachings of other houses.

Whether by obscure teachings (*nangi*), Teika is referring to exegeses of the *Rikugi* in particular or of various aspects of waka in general is unclear. He does seem extraordinarily reluctant, perhaps even excessively so, to divulge any sort of teachings that he might have received from Shunzei. Is he hiding some vast body of esoteric knowledge? I would suggest that he is hiding knowledge, but it isn't necessarily esoteric or profoundly complex. Teika's views on the *Kokinshū,* for example, may be found in his treatise *Kenchū mikkan,* a critique of Kenshō's commentary on the *Kokinshū;* the teachings he received

from Shunzei regarding the first three imperial waka anthologies are described in *Hekianshō;* and his comments on specific passages in *Genji monogatari* are compiled in *Okuiri.* None of this information seems especially esoteric or unique. The production and dissemination of secret teachings on various ancient texts is an activity promoted by later generations.

Eiga no taigai

Eiga no taigai (General overview of poetic composition) does not exist in an autograph version, but it is attributed to Teika with high confidence. The oldest version is in the hand of Teika's great-grandson Reizei Tamehide. Kambun and mixed kana/kambun versions exist; the original is believed to have been written in kambun. The content has much in common with that of *Kindai shūka;* in a similar way, *Eiga no taigai* is often accompanied by a list of exemplary poems (called *Shūka no daitai*) which also overlap significantly with the lists included in the various versions of *Kindai shūka.* Current scholarship suggests that *Kindai shūka* was written first.

The text reads not like a letter, but rather like a detailed set of notes. It begins with a statement of Teika's views regarding innovation and tradition. (Sentences in parentheses in the translation below are given in half-size type in the original.)

> With regard to sentiment, one gives priority to the new. (One seeks sentiments that others have not composed about, and composes on them.)
>
> With regard to diction, one uses the old. (One's language should not go beyond what previous poets used in the first three imperial waka anthologies. In the same manner, one may use poems by ancient poets that are included in the *Shin Kokinshū.*)
>
> With regard to style, one should imitate exemplary poets by the most skilled poets of the past. (It matters not whether ancient or recent, near or far; one reads good poems and imitates their style.)[29]

These remarks are a more detailed version of the section in *Kindai shūka* in which Teika writes, "If one were to long for the old in diction, seek the new in meaning, yearn for a lofty, unreachable style, and imitate the poetry of the Kanpyō era and earlier, how could good things not come about naturally?" He strikes a balance between breaking with the past and simply continuing it by insisting on linguistic

conservatism and semantic innovation, advocating a reconfiguration of the verbal parts of old poems. The key to success is not found in breaking entirely new ground, but in imitating the better poets of the past and reusing their vocabulary to create something new. Unfortunately, there is not much description of precisely how one makes a new poem; as in *Kindai shūka,* Teika launches immediately into a familiar discussion of the rules of *honka-dori,* which need not be repeated here.

Toward the end of *Eiga no taigai,* Teika revisits the question of poetic training, and claims that the best preparation is a program of reading:

> One must always be contemplating the sensibility of old poems and steeping one's mind in them. One should especially study *Kokinshū, Ise monogatari, Gosenshū,* and *Shūishū.* Of the collections of the thirty-six poetic immortals, one should especially consider the most skilled poems (Hitomaro, Tsurayuki, Tadamine, Ise, Komachi, et al.).
>
> Although he is not an old waka poet, with regard to the sensibility of the age, and the rise and fall of a world, and for understanding the way things are, one should always be turning the pages of the first two books of *Boshi wenji.* (They are deeply consistent with the spirit of waka.)

The most interesting entry on this list is the last, *Boshi wenji* (J. *Hakushi monjū, Collected Works of Mr. Bo*), the collected poems of the Tang poet Bo Juyi. Teika himself often quoted poems by Bo Juyi in his diary and, with Jien, wrote a sequence of poems based on Bo's poems. His explanatory comment is entirely consistent with the transnational vision that permeates *The Tale of Matsura.*

In *Kindai shūka,* Teika denied he had any special secrets to impart regarding the art of waka. He goes even further in the closing lines of *Eiga no taigai*:

> In waka there are no teachers. One simply takes the old poems as one's teachers. Having steeped one's mind in the ancient styles and studied the language of the old poets, who would be unable to compose waka?

This is a rather unusual position for a master poet and teacher of poetry to take. We know from the *Meigetsuki* and from other documents that Teika continued judging poetry matches and evaluating poems by private students until quite late in life. Was this a way of

gently rebuffing a request for personal instruction? Or is it simply evidence that Teika regarded himself as essentially self-taught? We may recall him saying, in *Kindai shūka,* that Shunzei did not give him comprehensive instruction in waka, and told him only that waka is something that comes from the heart (*kokoro*).

Kindai shūka and *Eiga no taigai* are the only explicitly theoretical works on poetry that may be attributed to Teika with confidence, so it is seems worthwhile to pause here to summarize their common stance. I would propose the following points:

1. In general, both texts actively resist offering an overarching view of poetry or of language; *Kindai shūka* especially claims that Teika has nothing special to say. This resistance seems to exceed de rigueur ritual expressions of humility.
2. They present a "hybrid" model of poetic innovation in which the poet may not use words outside the traditional lexicon (defined in *Eiga no taigai* as the words used in the first three imperial waka anthologies, and other poems of that era). Yet some degree of innovation is expected in the discovery of new sentiments.
3. *Honka-dori* is an integral part of this neoclassical poetics. It must be practiced with care, however, and an understanding of which phrases were conventional and which associated with particular poets, lest it degenerate into plagiarism.
4. Poems are not created out of one's experience of the world, or direct observation of it. New poems are created by rearranging parts of old poems. It is unnecessary to travel, to have life experiences, to closely examine the world around oneself. We are presented with an intensely "readerly" notion of poetic writing.
5. Imitation is an important element in writing good poetry. The canonical sources for imitation are relatively early and cluster on a period after *Man'yōshū* and before *Kokinshū* (let us say about the year 850), that is, the age of Komachi, Narihira, and others. Weaknesses of these poets as adduced by Tsurayuki in the "Kana Preface" are actually strengths; in particular, a good poem leaves something unsaid (*yojō*) or possesses a charm that is not quite of this world (*yōen*).

Revisiting *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei*

Having examined Teika's ideas on poetics in the two theoretical texts that can be attributed to him with confidence, let us return briefly to

the two disputed works, *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei,* and I will further explain why they do not seem to have been written by Teika.

As mentioned above, various approaches to proving or disproving that Teika wrote these texts have effectively reached a stalemate. Bibliographic evidence is inconclusive, and the readily apparent overlap between these texts and the long-discredited *usagi* treatises still cannot show decisively whether these texts were written in imitation of the forgeries, or vice versa.

My view on this topic is based on a comparison of the content of the disputed texts with the undisputed texts discussed above, and informed by the view of Teika's poetics I advanced in Chapter 2, which was based on the tripartite model of social hierarchies and cultural preferences developed by Pierre Bourdieu (that is, highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow, with the Mikohidari aiming to occupy the "highbrow" position prizing innate taste and sensibility, and the Rokujō taking the "middlebrow" position, emphasizing conventional, acquired scholarly knowledge). In short, the position occupied by the author of *Maigetsushō,* including the system of Teika's ten styles illustrated in *Teika jittei,* seems not to be a product of the same sensibility that wrote *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai* or, for that matter, valorized a poetic style of overtones, of leaving something unsaid. The disputed treatises leave very little unsaid, erect a rather pedantic system of poetic styles, lapse into immodesty, and assert insights into poetry that Teika, in my view, would have been unlikely to articulate in writing (even if he did possess them).

To be sure, there are many lines in *Maigetsushō* that are consistent with *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai;* the instructions on *honkadori,* for example, are quite similar. But it is also clear that the *Maigetsushō* author had access to these other texts, as he or she writes, "As long as one does not make a habit of it, occasional Chinese allusions in one's poems can give them a certain novelty. Therefore, *as I have said previously, the essential materials are to be found in the first and second parts of the collected works of Bo Juyi,* and you should study those."[30] This not only overlaps with the advice given in *Eiga no taigai;* it suggests that the recipient of *Maigetsushō* has already been furnished with a copy of the other text.

In my view, the broadest gap between *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei* and the undisputed texts are the Ten Styles. Read with a skeptical eye, *Maigetsushō* seems as if its purpose is to convince the reader that the Ten Styles were endorsed by Teika, achieving this by embedding

mention of the styles alongside various comments from Teika's actual treatises. It could have been used to authenticate *Teika jittei* by association, and perhaps to convince the person who was being shown or given a copy of *Maigetsushō* to subscribe to a program of study in which he or she would learn the various styles under the tutelage of someone, such as a poet from the Nijō, Reizei, or Kyōgoku schools, who was in possession of copies of *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei.*

Specifically, the most dubious part of *Maigetsushō* seems to be this one:

> Those styles I regard as fundamental are the following four of the ten styles that I have designated previously: the style of mystery and depth (*yūgentei*), the style of appropriate statement (*koto shikarubeki tei*), the style of elegant beauty (*uruwashiki tei*), and the style of deep feeling (*ushintei*). . . . After you have developed the ability to compose freely in these gentle and amiable styles, such others as the lofty style (*taketakaki tei*), the style of visual description (*miru tei*), the style of clever treatment (*omoshiroki tei*), the style of novel treatment (*hitofushi aru tei*), and the style of exquisite detail (*komayaka naru tei*) are quite easy to learn. The demon-quelling style (*rakki tei*) is the one that you will find most difficult to master.[31]

The false precision and breezy confidence of this passage, evident even in translation, sound very different from the voice that we heard in *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai.* A number of possibilities present themselves: (1) Teika was a duplicitous teacher who expounded disparate theories to different students, telling them what he thought they wanted (or, more charitably, wished) to hear; (2) Teika's views on poetics shifted greatly late in life; or (3) *Maigetsushō, Teika jittei,* and any other text that enumerates the Ten Styles was not actually written by Teika. Regarding possibility (1), we have a great deal of information about Teika's personality and, if anything, he seems pathologically *unable* to tell people what he thought they wanted to hear; regarding (2), all of the texts in question are attributed to a period when Teika was in his late forties or fifties. We also know that he was quite stubborn and that he was "burned out" poetically after his work on *Shin Kokinshū;* this is an unlikely time for him to change his views on poetics substantially, even if he were inclined to do so. This leaves only (3), which is the simplest and, in my view, also the most convincing explanation.

I would like to point out two more qualities that seem suspect. The first is verbosity, which cannot really be appreciated in excerpts; suffice it to say that in one modern typeset edition of premodern Japanese poetic treatises, the expository section of *Kindai shūka* occupies four and a half pages; the kana version of *Eiga no taigai,* two pages; and *Maigetsushō,* twelve and a half.[32]

The second is a lapse into immodesty. While *Maigetsushō* makes the obligatory gestures of humility, it includes a very curious boast not far from the end of the text:

> A person who can distinguish the good from the bad in the verses of the poets of old from the Kanpyō era and before [*Kanpyō iō*], ought surely to be able to judge quality in poetry. But although I speak in this way, as if I knew all about it, stupid old man that I am, I have never learned to do it myself. Nevertheless, I need not be so diffident on that account [*sashi mo hige subekarazu*]. For some time ago, during the Genkyū era [1204–1206], when I made a retreat at Sumiyoshi, I had a wonderful dream inspired by the God, in which I was told, 'for you the moon is radiant,' [*nanji tsuki akiraka nari*]. Because of this I wrote my 'Record of the Full Moon' [*Meigetsuki*], so as to contribute to the poetic traditions of my house.[33]

The first two sentences express modesty, but to a suspicious degree of excess. Teika might have admitted that he had no formal education in waka, or that he failed to understand the art deeply, or that he had nothing to teach; but it seems unlikely that he would claim that he could not recognize a good or bad poem when he saw one because, among other reasons, that was the duty of the judge at a poetry match and, as we know, Teika served in this role on several occasions. Be that as it may, the rest of the passage seems even stranger. Teika seems to boast that the god of Sumiyoshi, patron deity of waka, has singled him out for special treatment, and that this was the impetus for writing the text called *Meigetsuki.* Teika did in fact pay his respects at Sumiyoshi for the very first time while on the way to visit Kumano as a member of Retired Emperor Go-Toba's entourage in 1201, and was deeply moved; but, even had he had such a vision on a later occasion, it seems unlikely that he would have bragged about it to others in this way.[34]

Finally, the mention of *Meigetsuki* is unusual. Commentators usually explain it as a reference to an otherwise unknown text on poetics

by Teika. No such text has come out of the Reizei archives except, of course, for Teika's diary. This passage was read by Nijō Yoshimoto as an origin story for the diary's name. But Teika never called his diary *Meigetsuki*; he referred to it as "my foolish diary" (*guki*), and his son Tameie called it "the diary of His Lordship the late middle counselor." Teika's descendants did not use the term during the Kamakura period at all, and the earliest mention of this name might be from a record dated 1354.[35] It is possible that the title *Meigetsuki* came about independently, and that the real author of *Maigetsushō* wove it into his or her text to enhance its credibility; following the dissemination of *Maigetsushō,* this concocted anecdote was cited as an origin story for the title of the diary. It is also possible that this story was the source for the diary's current name, an invented tradition.

Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo

The remainder of Teika's writings on poetics are far less congenial to analysis than *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai*. They are collections of comments Teika made, some regarding specific poems, some judgments from poetry contests. We will have to derive an implicit poetics from them.

Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo is believed to be a record of separate remarks on poetry by Teika and Ietaka, the only poet of his time who could conceivably equal his skill in composing. It is thought to have been set down by Teika's student, Fujiwara no Nagatsuna (n.d.), a younger student of Teika's whose father, Tadatsuna, was a close retainer of Retired Emperor Go-Toba. Nagatsuna often called on Teika at his home to chat and receive instruction. Teika thought highly of the younger man's poetic abilities, evaluated a set of his poems, and transmitted to him a copy of Teika's treatise *Kenchū mikkan*.[36]

There is no decisive evidence that authenticates *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo* as a true record of Teika and Ietaka's views on poetry. The text mentions two dates on which the author visited Teika, but unfortunately neither of those dates is among the portions of the *Meigetsuki* that are extant. Nonetheless, the document appears very convincing. It mentions specific dates and poems, and does not make broad claims of access to secret teachings.

Teika's advice in *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo* to Nagatsuna on writing poetry may be summarized as follows: Model your verses after the poetry of old. Make sure you understand the topic, if one is

assigned, and that your verse responds to the topic appropriately throughout, not just at the beginning and the end. When you write a poem, use your imagination to transcend your own personality and surroundings. This is perhaps the most interesting part of the text. Teika says:

> When one writes a love poem, one does so by abandoning one's ordinary self, thinking about acting as Narihira would, and then completely becoming Narihira. When one writes a poem about landscape, a good poem will come about when one flees this sort of brushwood fence, or similar kind of setting, and imagines a jeweled staircase, or the ambience of mountains and rivers.[37]

These lines represent an implicit rejection of *shasei* ("sketching from life," or writing about what is immediately in front of one's eyes) and of writing based on one's personal experience. Both of these methods were used successfully by Saigyō, for example, whom Teika greatly admired. Yet they were not his own methods. How would one know how Narihira behaved? Of course the answer is to read his collected poems and the stories associated with him in *Ise monogatari*. This is a familiar approach in Teika's poetics, the readerly approach.

There are other insights that fall outside the category of practical advice. Teika recalled a pair of poems by Jakuren and Ietaka that were quite novel (*omoshiroshi*), but were ultimately rejected by Shunzei, who believed that novelty was not the primary goal of waka, and that such poems were, in the end, harmful to the art. Teika himself felt bound by this teaching, which hints of a slight gap between his attitude and Shunzei's regarding poetic innovation; the term *mezurashi* (rare, novel) seems to appear much more often as a term of approbation in Teika's judgments than it does in Shunzei's. Teika mentions that poets (including the compilers of the *Shin Kokinshū*) often do a poor job of determining which of their own poems are good or bad, and so the task must be left to others.

He also puts forward a theory of reading:

> The way that recent poets regard *Genji monogatari* has also changed. Some use the poems as foundation poems in writing their own verses, and some set themselves up as experts, bickering over questions like, "Whose daughter was Lady Murasaki?," drawing up genealogies, and so forth. In days of yore there were no such things. [Lord Teika] had no

> opinion about Murasaki's father and did not think of trying to use the poems as foundation poems. Her use of language was beyond description; when he read Murasaki Shikibu's writing, it cleansed him mind and soul, and the conception of his poems and language became elegant. The writing in *Boshi wenji* is just like that; he wrote many waka because of it. How does one clear the mind in order to write beautifully?[38]

Teika rejects the pedantic abuse of *Genji monogatari,* as one might expect. Why he avoided using its poems as *honka* is less clear, although perhaps it has something to do with Shunzei's remark in *Roppyakuban utaawase* that Murasaki Shikibu was an incomparable prose stylist, but not much of a poet.[39] Teika did not use *Genji;* he imbibed it and allowed it to suffuse his consciousness, then wrote waka. The same was true of *Boshi wenji.* This is a decidedly anti-instrumentalist view of these texts, and perhaps of the act of reading in general. It seems to fly in the face of a picture of Teika's poetics that is centered on *honka-dori,* but it is consistent, in my opinion, with the overall view of poetry that we have seen so far in Teika's work.

KINUGASA NAIFU NO UTA NO NANJI

As mentioned earlier, the text called *Kinugasa naifu no uta no nanji* (Critiques of waka by the Kinugasa privy minister) is actually composed of three short letters by Teika to three different recipients about waka.

The first letter critiques a set of poems sent to Teika by the recipient, Fujiwara no Ieyoshi (1192–1264). It subjects them to standards that will be familiar by now: whether a certain word appears in the first three imperial waka anthologies, whether a certain place name is appropriate, and so forth. Although Teika demanded that even contemporary waka be restricted to the *sandaishū* lexicon, that was a necessary but insufficient condition. We can see as much from a remark that is addressed to a poem by Ieyoshi that contains the word *tsukaneo,* which refers to a kind of twine used to tie bundles; the term appears in the *Kokinshū.*[40] According to Kubota Jun, the poem is probably the following:

> *wa ga koi wa / shinobu no oka ni / karu kusa no /*
> *tsukaneo yowami / midarete zo omou*[41]
>
> My longing

is the shorn grass
from the hills of Shinobu—
the twine that binds it is weak
and I sense it falling into disarray.

Teika writes, "Although '*tsukaneo*' (twine) is from a poem in the *Kokinshū,* it is extraordinarily undignified" (*sukoburu hin naki mono sōrō*). It is clear from this comment that the few rules Teika claimed governed poetic practice required application with discernment. Although Teika rejects as too vulgar a word with connotations of rural farming, we should bear in mind that his interlocutor is himself a high-placed aristocrat, superior to Teika in rank.

The second letter appears to have been a draft to Fujiwara no Motoyoshi (1187–1276), whose family was also superior to the Mikohidari. It is written in kanbun with a few poems given for illustration in kana. The topic matter consists of "things my late father forbade," and mentions specifically two offenses regarding *honka-dori:* using three lines of a poem from the *sandaishū* (poems from the *Man'yōshū* are permitted, but the poet must be cautious), and using even one line from a poem by a recent poet. "Either society permits this and doesn't regard it as a flaw," Teika observes about the latter practice, "or people forget and use them. Even so, in my own misguided view, it is unacceptable." The phrases he cites as examples from recent poems that are "off-limits" include *Ima ya koromo o utsu no yama* 'Do they full robes now on Mount Utsu?,' from one of his own verses; we can see that Teika and other leading poets of his time had a vested interest in propagating these rules and protecting their rights as artists.

The third and final letter appears to have been sent by Teika to Ietaka; it was discussed earlier in the context of the Bodhidharma style, in particular Teika's poem on the Hatsuse woman.

Preface to *Shin Chokusen Wakashū*

Teika made general remarks on poetry in various contexts, most commonly in private letters. His preface to *Shin chokusen wakashū,* however, provides us with an example of a highly rhetoricized apology for poetry in the most public and formal manner possible. It gives a rare insight into his ideas about the political significance of the art, and of the custom of compiling anthologies by imperial command. Teika struggled in his efforts to put together the *Shin chokusenshū,* which

should have been the crowning achievement of his illustrious career. Instead, the defeat of Go-Toba's forces in the Jōkyū Disturbance meant that Teika was obliged to exclude all poems by retired emperors Go-Toba, Juntoku, Tsuchimikado, and their associates, and to include a number of verses, in many cases regarded as inferior by later generations, by poets aligned with the winning side at court and with the shogunate. What is more, the sponsor, Retired Emperor Go-Horikawa, actually died before the anthology was completed, forcing Teika to destroy the manuscript as custom demanded. For better or worse, an earlier draft was retrieved, the preface was backdated to a date before Go-Horikawa's death, and the anthology was issued as if nothing had happened. It was truly, as Teika might say, an endeavor befitting the Latter Days of the Dharma.

To begin, let us review the preface in its entirety:

> The selection of poems of our country of Yamato by command of the sovereign began in a past as ancient as an ornamental shrine fence (*mizugaki no*), and has been transmitted through the eras as long as the roots of sedge grasses (*suga no ne no*).
>
> Besides the two anthologies called *Kokin* [905–913] and *Gosen* [951–956], one hears of many precedents of titles that were collected and set down in ancient ages and in recent times as part of the affairs of the sovereign (*ōyakegoto ni nazuraete*). Yet there are few traces of fellows who, having been summoned above the ninefold clouds and mingled with the distant moon, undertook this task and carried it out.
>
> During his wise reign, [Emperor] Shirakawa [1053–1129; r. 1073–1087] desired a vigorous administration and maintained a lifespan of over seventy years, and there was the selection of *Goshūi* [1075–1086].
>
> Now more than ten springs and autumns have passed while our lord [Go-Horikawa, 1212–1234; r. 1221–1232] has governed all under heaven; plentiful waves rise quietly on the four seas and the people in the seven regions rejoice, as pliant as blades of grass.
>
> He has quelled the disorder that was like wild rice and has reversed the decline that was like autumn grasses. Once more the Dragonfly Islands are bustling, and the succession of the Heavenly Son is robust again.
>
> One does not only long for the Engi [901–923] and Tenryaku [947–957] reigns of yesteryear, in which the times were gentle and the people rejoiced in their prosperity; again in the present reign of Kangi [1229–1232] and Jōei [1232–1233], the world is at peace and the people are

> comfortable, and it appears that once again poems are being collected for the express purpose of understanding delightful words.
>
> Sadaie has accumulated years like the pines along the coast, and served in reigns as numerous as the joints of the bamboo along the rivers. His age exceeds seventy, and he has reached the Second Rank, fortunate to have been bestowed the office of listening to the affairs of the low and reporting them to the high, and receiving orders from the high and proclaiming them to the low.
>
> He therefore reports that he has collected words—beginning with the words of the seasons, spring, summer, autumn and winter, and continuing with the celebrations of our lord's reign, governing the populous country, worshipping the Gods, praying to the Buddhas, longing for one's wife, and ending with the expression of one's feelings—divided them by topic, and ordered them into chapters, words like lovely seaweed on the strand, as numerous as the grains of sand on the beach. So it is reported on this second day of the tenth month of the first year of the Jōei Era [1232].
>
> Thus it is titled the *Shin Chokusen Wakashū* (New Imperially Commissioned Anthology of Japanese Poetry).[42]

In summary, Teika says, the practice of compiling imperial anthologies of waka is of long standing. There are numerous anthologies, but few that were compiled by senior nobles (like Teika). Emperor Shirakawa commissioned the *Goshūishū* while regnant (just as Emperor Go-Horikawa commissioned the present anthology). The present reign has been extraordinarily peaceful and the emperor has restored order and prosperity after the chaos of Jōkyū. Once again, the country has entered a period of benevolent rule much like the first half of the tenth century (when emperors ruled directly). Teika is aged and has served the court for a very long time; he now holds Second Rank and serves as counselor. He herewith reports that he has collected poems on the customary topics, selected, categorized, and arranged them, and hereby presents them to the emperor as the *Shin chokusen wakashū*.

Reading the original, one is struck by the highly rhetoricized tone of the text, which seems closer to poetry than to prose; it is studded with pillow words and various metaphors and allusive language. It is also almost entirely bereft of kanji and uses Sino-Japanese compounds only when absolutely necessary, in proper nouns. Teika even resorts to an awkward circumlocution to describe the post he holds: "the

office of listening to the affairs of the low and reporting them to the high, and receiving orders from the high and proclaiming them to the low" refers to the post of counselor (*nagon*). At the time, Teika held the office of supernumerary middle counselor (*gon chūnagon*) and, like all posts, this one had a native Japanese equivalent title (*suke no mono mōsu tsukasa*), but Teika invented this longer phrasing. He also uses longer equivalents even for the chapter titles that are usually pronounced as *wabun,* for example, "longing for one's wife" (*ono ga tsuma o koi*) for the Love (*koi*) chapters. Thus we can see that, while the avoidance of Sino-Japanese lexical items seems deliberate (in the manner of Shinto priests reciting the *Kojiki* using only native Japanese words), it does not explain all of the stylistic choices. The preface does not say much; perhaps Teika was exhausted, and felt he had to stretch out his sentences in order to reach a suitable length.

What is interesting, if not uncommon, about the preface is the tight connection it attempts to forge between the compilation of imperial anthologies (and, by extension, waka) and good government, peace, prosperity, and content among the populace. The two first imperial waka anthologies, *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū,* were composed as a part of the emperor's official duties; they were an extension of good government. In fact, the *Kokinshū* was compiled during the Engi era (the time of Emperor Daigo) and the *Gosenshū* was compiled during the Tenryaku era (the time of Emperor Murakami), the two eras that are named specifically later in the preface and which represent a golden age (from the perspective of the imperial family) of direct rule by emperors. The commissioning of an imperial waka anthology continues a practice begun during those ideal reigns. The implicit claim is that the appearance of an imperial waka anthology is a sign of enlightened rule.

Of course, no mention is made of the previous anthology, *Shin Kokinshū,* as its sponsor, Retired Emperor Go-Toba was still alive and living in exile on Oki Island. In the case of the *Shin Kokinshū,* two prefaces were appended: one in Japanese (*kana*), the other in Chinese (*mana*). Unlike the preface of the *Shin chokusenshū,* they were written in the voice of the sponsor, rather than that of the compilers. The prefaces were actually written by courtiers and submitted to Go-Toba for his approval, but they speak from his perspective. By writing the preface in his own voice, rather than ventriloquizing the deceased Go-Horikawa, Teika is returning to the usual custom, followed by Shunzei as well in his kana preface to the *Senzaishū*.

Teika's Judgments at *Sengohyakuban utaawase*

Teika put his ideas about waka into practice by writing in two genres: waka itself, of course, and the judgments he issued at poetry matches. During his lifetime Teika judged seven poetry matches of varying lengths, but the most useful remarks appear in his longest effort, the one hundred fifty rounds he judged as part of *Sengohyakuban utaawase.* Perhaps because the match also included poets from the rival Rokujō school, Teika's comments address not only the success or failure of individual poems, but the standards by which poems were measured. By examining a selection of rounds judged by Teika from a variety of matches, we can see how abstract concepts were applied to comparisons of specific poems.

Sengohyakuban utaawase (The poetry contest in fifteen hundred rounds) was sponsored by Retired Emperor Go-Toba around 1202 or 1203. This event provided more poems for the *Shin kokinshū* than any other source and, while the poetry and judgments are not as carefully written as those in *Roppyakuban utaawase,* it was still a very influential event and the written record reveals a great deal. As the title indicates, it entailed the matching of three thousand poems in fifteen hundred rounds. To produce this number of poems, thirty poets, including Go-Toba himself, produced sequences of one hundred poems on set topics. The Left team was led by Go-Toba, the Right by his half brother Prince Koreakira (1179–1221). The poets also included members of the Mikohidari family (Teika, Shunzei, and others) and their associates, members of the Kujō family (Yoshitsune and Jien), members of the Rokujō family (Kenshō and others), and members of the Minamoto courtier family (Michichika and others). Go-Toba mixed the teams, so that the Rokujō poets were paired with the Kujō, patrons of the Mikohidari, and the Mikohidari were paired with the Minamoto, patrons of the Rokujō. Nonetheless, since poets from rival factions were put on opposing teams, the judgments generated some heat. The judgments were issued by ten poets, including Go-Toba and Teika. The elite judges seemed to take their job lightly; Go-Toba gave his decisions in acrostic waka, Yoshitsune in rhymed Chinese quatrains, and Jien in the form of waka.[43] But, characteristically, Teika and the other professional poets seemed to have been playing for keeps. Because the judges were given entire chapters of poems to judge, they also found themselves deciding matches in which their own poems

appear; this gives us an excellent opportunity to hear Teika comment on his own poems, which he usually avoided.

Like all the judges, Teika was assigned 150 rounds to judge; his portion included poems on autumn and winter. Round 755 matched poems on autumn by Fujiwara no (Tokudaiji) Kintsugu (1172–1227) and Teika:

> *Round 755. Left (Win). Lord Kintsugu*
>
> *kurenai no / iro ni zo nami mo / Tatsutagawa /*
> *momiji no fuchi o / sekikakeshi yori*
> Even the waves
> have been breaking crimson
> on the Tatsuta River
> ever since the colored leaves
> dammed its deep pools.
>
> *Right. Lord Sadaie*
>
> *hitori nuru / yamadori no o no / shidario ni /*
> *shimo okimayou / toko no tsukikage*
> On the drooping tail
> of the tail of the pheasant
> that sleeps alone in the hills
> frost forms here and there,
> moonlight on its bed.

It is not surprising that Teika awarded the win to his opponent, out of propriety. His fellow compilers of the *Shin Kokinshū,* however, would later select Teika's poem, but not Kintsugu's. Here is Teika's judgment.

> The drooping tail of the pheasant, moonlight on its bed, troubled thoughts on a long frosty night—there are many parts in which the words are too few, and the meaning seems difficult to grasp (*kotoba taranu tokoro ōku, kokoro mo wakaregataku haberumeri*). Crimson waves, a pool of colored leaves—this is indeed deeply considered, and the color of one's heart is dyed more intensely.[44]

Teika's critique of his own poem sounds negative, and it is supposed to, out of modesty. But this kind of criticism is actually a form of self-praise. Tsurayuki's discussion of Narihira in the Kana Preface began,

"As for Ariwara no Narihira, there is too much meaning and too few words" (*Ariwara no Narihira wa, sono kokoro amarite, kotoba tarazu*).[45] We know from reading Teika's treatises that he regarded the poetry of Narihira's age as a model, distinct from the style of Tsurayuki. The overlap in phrasing clearly shows that Teika regarded this poem as having been written in the style of Narihira.

Another round reveals that Teika saw the Rokujō style as antithetical to his own. It matched a poem by Kenshō against one by Minamoto no (Koga) Michiteru (1187–1248), third son of Michichika:

Round 765. Left. Kenshō

akikaze ni / omoiyaritsutsu / utsu koromo /
kiku oto sae zo / mi ni wa shimikeru
Sending her thoughts
in the autumn wind,
she fulls a robe
and even its sound
sinks into her body.

Right. Win. Lord Michiteru

matsumushi no / koe suru kata ni / yado toeba /
yomogi ga kado no / sumai narikeri
I hear the chirp
of a pine cricket, and seek
lodging there
only to find a dwelling
with mugwort by the gate.

A woman beating silk with a mallet on a fulling block in autumn as she longs for her absent husband is a stock image in Chinese and Japanese poetry. Teika criticizes Kenshō for failing to innovate:

> The gist of the Left poem has been expressed [in a range of texts], from the writings of Korea and China up until waka written yesterday or today; one can see various words and hear diverse sentiments, and there are often moving passages. Yet, in this poem, it is especially unclear what sort of thoughts she is sending in the lines "Sending her thoughts / in the autumn wind." A poem that is written with a fondness for clearly stated sentiments and direct language (*kokoro arawa ni kotoba sunao naran*) should think of some sentiment that has not been long used as a

cliché in the poems of others. It should sound like that sort of poem. The sentiment of the Right poem, in which one seeks out the chirping of the pine cricket and does not disdain the mugwort gate, is certainly novel.[46]

We get a clearer idea in this judgment of what Teika meant in *Eiga no taigai* when he urged the use of traditional language but in new senses. Kenshō takes a well-used image—there are several poems in Chinese and Japanese on fulling robes in *Wakan rōeishū* alone—and does nothing new with it. The tone is halfhearted, and Michiteru wins almost by default.

In a later round Teika again faults Kenshō for failing to innovate, but with a suggestion that Kenshō's poem is excessively derivative:

Round 900. Left. Kenshō

Azumaji o / yuki ni uchiidete / miwataseba /
nami ni tadayou / Ukishima ga hara

Along the road
to the east I come upon
the snow and look out:
the Ukishima plain
floating above the waves.

Right. Win. Jakuren

ko no ha chiru / migiwa o harau / yamakaze no /
ato ni musubu wa / kōri narikeri

Leaves scatter
from the trees by the edge
of the water,
and after the mountain wind
sweeps past, what forms is ice.

In the Left poem, having the phrase "come upon the snow" and then heading toward the waves is quite novel. The author has not likely seen this for real. In the hundred-poem sequences presented at the residence of the General of the Left in the second year of Kenkyū [1191], there was the poem *Ashigara no / sekiji koeyuku / shinonome ni / hitomura kasumu / ukishima ga hara*. (At dawn on the road / that crosses the barrier / at Ashigara, / a part of Ukishima plain / covered in mist.)[47] At the poetry match held at the residence of the Privy Minister in the second

year of Shōji [1200], there was the poem *Koma namete / uchiidete hama o / miwataseba / asahi ni sawagu / Shiga no uranami.* (Riding ponies / side by side, they come upon / the beach and look out: / frothing in the morning sun, / the waves on the coast at Shiga.)[48] Although it seems as if these poems were written quite recently, they have gradually reached the ears of those near and far. The phrase "come upon . . . and look out" (*uchiidete miwataseba*) and the sentiment of taking in a view along the road to the east are more or less the same as in these two poems.

In the Right poem, the line about the ice is deeply regrettable, but the style has a hint of sincere feeling (*ushin*).[49]

The Ukishima plain that Kenshō describes in his poem was a humid, low-lying stretch of land along the coast in what is now eastern Shizuoka Prefecture. It is quite likely that Kenshō had never viewed the scene with his own eyes, but that was also almost certainly true for Teika, as well. Teika's criticism is not that Kenshō was writing about a sight he had never seen, but that he derived it from combining recent poems. The poems that Teika cites as Kenshō's sources also happen to have been written by the most powerful persons in poetic circles at the time, Yoshitsune and Go-Toba. While they may have been flattered by imitation, Teika was eager to establish rules that would allow him to protect his own poetic innovations. Once more, Kenshō's opponent wins by default.

It will be recalled that Teika often wrote about the rules for *honka-dori* in his treatises, and this issue comes up several times in his judgments of *Sengohyakuban utaawase.*

Round 895. Lord Takanobu

wa ga yado no / karita no neya ni / fusu shigi no /
toko arawa naru / fuyu no yo no tsuki
A snipe rests
in its bedroom in a shorn paddy
by my home,
its bed exposed
under a winter night's moon.

Right. Win. Echizen.

mishi hito mo / towade nomi koso / sugi no io ni /
taezu oto suru / murashigure ka na
Even the people

I once knew never
come to visit.
In my hut among the cedars
the sound of the chill rains never stops.

[The chill rains by a hut among the cedars: that is lovely phrasing, but the wintry moon above a house next to a rice paddy—the conception sounds like that of someone who understands how to say things. (A certain version of the text has the judgment thus.)] The Left poem was composed in a previous year by Inpumon'in no Taifu. No doubt the author forgot it. Moreover, the Right poem is elegant.

The judgment shows traces of having been revised. It seems that Takanobu was about to be judged the winner when Teika realized that his poem had already been written by the court lady Inpumon-in no Taifu (1131?–1200?).[50] Takanobu was reportedly forgetful in presenting other poems as his own, which was actually not an uncommon mishap. Retired Emperor Juntoku devoted a section to it in his treatise *Yakumo mishō,* noting several cases in which this occurred; sometimes the violator was himself a fine poet who had no need to use the phrases of others. Juntoku advised such forgetful poets to show their poems to others in advance, so that accidental cases of plagiarism could be prevented.[51]

Teika is not so forgiving when the offense appears to be deliberate. He comes down rather hard on Masatsune for violating the rules of *honka-dori:*

Round 814. Left (Tie). Lord Kintsugu

suguru aki / tsuyu mo nagori wa / naki mono o /
nani ni nururan / wa ga sode no ue
Not even one dewdrop
remains as a remembrance
of the passing autumn,
so how can it be
that my sleeves are wet?

Right. Masatsune

Fukakusa ya / aki sae koyoi / idete inaba /
itodo sabishiki / no to ya narinan
If even the autumn

were to leave Fukakusa
this evening,
would it grow even more lonely
and turn into a meadow?

Masatsune's poem alludes to a section in *Ise monogatari* that was often alluded to by waka poets. The man of old ("Narihira") had a longtime lover who lived in the village of Fukakusa ("Deep Grass"), southeast of Kyoto. When he was thinking of leaving her, he gave her this poem:

toshi o hete / sumikoshi sato o / idete inaba /
itodo fukakusa / no to ya narinan
If I were to leave
this village where I have dwelled
these many years,
would the grass grow even deeper
and Fukakusa turn into a meadow?

She replied with the following, which so moved him that he changed his mind:

no to naraba / uzura to narite / nakioran /
kari ni dani ya wa / kimi wa kozaramu[52]
If it turned into a meadow,
then I would become a quail
and stay here calling.
Would you not, if even
for a while, come to hunt?

Teika disapproves of Masatsune's use of the first poem in the episode:

> Isn't the Left's poem a little clumsy, with its *suguru aki* (passing autumn) and *wa ga sode no ue* (my sleeves)? As for the Right, it has long been the habit of poets to take too much of an old poem while using it as a foundation verse. One might put the upper verse of the *honka* into the lower verse of one's poem, and move the lower verse of the honka into one's own upper verse, or, depending on the style of the poem, use the the first two lines just they are. Nevertheless, have *idete inaba itodo*

> and *no to ya narinan* changed position at all? The Left and Right poems are unacceptable by a long measure, so aren't they at about the same level?

We can grasp Teika's point more readily by comparing the texts of the original line by line (the *Ise* poem appears first; words common to both poems are underlined):

toshi o hete sumikoshi sato o idete inaba itodo fukakusa no to ya narinan
Fukakusa ya aki sae koyoi idete inaba itodo sabishiki no to ya narinan

Of the thirty-two syllables in the *Ise* poem (the third line is hypermetric, which is not uncommon when two vowels appear consecutively), twenty appear in Masatsune's poem, including the third and fifth lines in their entirety and without a change of position. Masatsune does create a new meaning for the words, by personifying autumn (the topic is clearly the end of autumn), and Teika appears resigned to accepting the lexical overlap from a quantitative point of view, but he cannot abide the failure to reconfigure the syntax in a meaningful way. Masatsune's poem did not "make it new." It plundered the past.

Juntoku-in On'hyakushu

Teika was receptive to requests from other poets to evaluate their poems outside the context of a poetry match. There are two extant examples of full sequences of one hundred waka with comments by Teika. One, by Fujiwara no Nagatsuna, overlaps substantially with the advice from Teika that is recorded in *Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo*. The other, sent to Teika by Retired Emperor Juntoku while the latter was in exile at Sado, is not only informative, but it is the last known writing of Teika on waka before his death, and Teika's praise of Juntoku's poems provides a good corrective to the generally critical tone of the most interesting judgments at *Sengohyakuban utaawase*.

Teika's praise of Juntoku's poems seems quite sincere. It is not uniformly positive; especially in verso notations, Teika gently expresses his criticisms of various phrases. Some of them were phrases that Teika used himself in his younger days, but he had grown tired of them after their overuse by the generation of poets that followed his.[53]

One term that appears multiple times is *yōen,* the "ethereal beauty" that Teika did not observe in Tsurayuki's style but, it reasonable to believe, formed an important part of Teika's poetics.[54] *Yōen* need not be linked to a supernatural being—a dream or a dreamlike atmosphere is sufficient. Teika saw qualities of it in this poem by Juntoku, and was greatly pleased:

yume samete / mada makiagenu / tamadare no /
hima motomete mo / niou ume ga ka
I wake from a dream
and, before the jeweled blinds
have been raised,
through their slats comes
the fragrance of plum blossoms.

In Chinese, Teika wrote: "Bejeweled blinds yet to be raised, curtains of silk still drawn, the plum-soaked air seeking passage, scenting the bedchamber—the sentiment possesses *yōen* and the diction is beautiful."[55]

It is likely that Teika found this poem appealing not only because of his personal regard for Juntoku and for its aesthetic effect, but also because it had been written by someone who had once lived behind jeweled blinds, and was speaking from experience. Although direct experience was irrelevant, perhaps even undesirable, in Teika's poetics, he wrote several times in the course of commenting on Juntoku's poems that the scene was described so vividly it was as if it were right before his eyes.[56] Moreover, the poems that Teika most liked (but did not necessarily appeal to Go-Toba, who reviewed the poems separately) often address Juntoku's experience in exile, albeit obliquely.[57] Perhaps there was room, at least under these exceptional circumstances, for the intrusion of the personal in Teika's later poetics.[58]

Conclusion

The previous scholarship on Teika's poetics is vast; several books and hundreds of articles have been written about its various aspects. Nonetheless, these discussions of Teika's poetics are limited to a small number of texts, to a single text, or even to a single aspect of a text. In this chapter I have attempted to establish the overall limits of Teika's theoretical oeuvre, draw a particular set of conclusions about what is

authentic and what it not, and extract a poetics from this set of texts. In that respect, it is unique, to the best of my knowledge, and contributes modestly to a very crowded field of inquiry.

Let us try to summarize Teika's views on poetry based only on the texts discussed above. I think that we can reasonably assert the following points:

1. Teika was reluctant to put forward an overarching theory of poetry. It is difficult to discern whether this was out of modesty, or intellectual temperament, or innate reticence. "Teika's Ten Styles" is not consistent with the rest of his theoretical oeuvre. Poetry was too vast, too deep, too mysterious to sum up in a slogan or a theory.
2. His poetics was grounded in his practice as a poet and, importantly, as a judge of poetry contests. He did not write theoretical texts until he had accumulated considerable experience in both disciplines. The acid test of a poet was the *hyakushu*—one hundred poems on one hundred traditional topics, ranging from the four seasons to love, complaint, Buddhism, Shinto, travel, and so on. The formal poem was a response to the "call" of the topic.
3. Teika's avowed approach toward poetry was intensely neoclassical and intertextual. He was lexically conservative but conceptually progressive. A good waka should not use any word that had not already appeared in the first three imperial waka anthologies. Nonetheless, it should demonstrate innovation in conception. *Honka-dori* was not mandatory in every poem but, if it was employed, recent poems were off-limits, as were phrases from archaic poems that were too tightly associated with a specific poem (*nushi aru kotoba,* or "owned words"). Poets using *honka-dori* also needed to avoid incorporating too much of the earlier poem into their own work (about half of the original was the most that could be included). Moreover, they were expected to switch the general topic (from love to nature, for example, or vice versa) and to shift the position of the original words (from the first half of the original poem to the second half of the new one, and vice versa).
4. Two ideals that were especially important were *yojō* (surplus of sentiment or meaning, with a concomitant deficit of words) and *yōen* (otherworldly charm), sometimes mentioned in the same breath. A good poem created an atmosphere that was very unlike

our everyday lives, but at the same time it had to be charming and alluring. It should leave something unsaid, which added appeal with providing a hint of mystery; the gaps would be filled in by the reader, whether through recognition of an allusion or through an act of imagination that added the omitted details.

5. Ineffable sensibility was a *sine qua non,* and this is perhaps why poetry, fundamentally, could not be taught. For Teika, the best poetry was that written in the generation before the *Kokinshū:* works by Narihira, Komachi, and others. By reading their works and the writings of others, such as Bo Juyi and Murasaki Shikibu, one could elevate and purify one's mind, and write good poetry. It went without saying that qualities such as elegance, sympathy, generosity, propriety, and restraint were indispensable virtues.
6. This sensibility was indispensable in making a variety of artistic decisions; for example, in alluding to poems from the *Man'yōshū,* which by Teika's time was archaic. A refined sensibility served as one's guide in avoiding excessive archaism, which could easily turn into obscurantism or, even worse, pedantry.
7. On the matter of obscurantism, Teika himself had been accused of writing hopelessly opaque poems—the so-called Bodhidharma poetry. He rejected the label, and seemed to feel that the failure was not his but rather on the part of his readers. His poems were the products of deep thought and reflection, which was a virtue, and they demanded close familiarity with a range of classical texts, Chinese and Japanese, prose and poetry, from various ages of the past. The real Bodhidharma poets were those who inverted traditional phrases for the sheer sake of novelty, who wrote poems that no one (not even Teika) could understand, or who overused phrases that had once been innovative.
8. Unlike Shunzei, Teika did not have much to say about the sacred function of waka. He was a devout Buddhist (of the Tendai school; copying sūtras was his favorite ritual practice) and also faithfully devoted to the native deities. Waka was no doubt sacred to him personally, but it does not appear that he believed he was performing an explicitly religious act in composing it. He clearly states, on the other hand, that there is a relationship between waka, tradition, political stability, and economic prosperity.
9. Returning to the ideal of *yojō*—which, if pressed, one might locate at the heart of Teika's poetics—it suggests a certain lack of faith in language to represent reality fully and accurately. There

will always be certain thoughts or feelings that will remain beyond our ability to express them. The job of the poet—which is somewhat quixotic or Sisyphean—is to express things that one may have sensed or felt but never put into words, and to show the reader a new way of perceiving the world and our experience living in it. Although we are penned in by language, we must enlarge it, not by simply using new words, but rather by reconfiguring old words in new ways to expand our outlook and understanding. Language represents but a sliver of our experience of living. This informs the notion that poetry is not made out of experiences, but out of other poems, reconfigured to help us see the world in a slightly different way.

Chapter Four

Spirit of Han, Genius of Yamato

It is impossible to discuss premodern Japanese culture without considering the intersections between Japanese and continental culture, which for the most part means the culture of classical China, sometimes filtered through Korean sources. From the very beginning, we face thorny problems of language and naming. How to refer to "China" when the word did not exist? Should we really even use the term *Japan,* when it was not used often by Japanese writers at the time and, moreover, reflects a Sinocentric perspective? (The English word *Japan* is derived from the Chinese pronunciation of *Nihon* or *Nippon* 日本, which means "origin of the sun," that is, a country that lay east of what is now called China.) Thomas LaMarre has dealt with these issues neatly by consistently referring to *Yamato* and *Han,* the terms that were used often in premodern Japan.[1] (*Yamato,* written 大和 or 和, referred both to the province in which Nara and other old capitals where located, and by extension, to all of Japan itself, although what is now called Hokkaidō was not part of the country per se. *Han* 漢, read "Kan" in Japanese, referred to the Han Dynasty [ca. 200 BCE–ca. 200 CE] and also, by extension, to what is now more or less, China.) As we will see below, what we now call China Teika calls at times Han, at other times Tō or Kara 唐, after the Tang Dynasty, and sometimes even Song 宋, after the dynasty that was in place during his lifetime. The desire to replicate premodern namings and states of mind is welcome and laudable but can also fall into anachronism and obscure the continuities between Han, Tang, and Song.

Place-names are not the only problem. I have deliberately avoided using the word *influence* because it has been convincingly argued that the word obscures the complex dynamics of intercultural exchange and interaction. Chinese culture did not merely flow into Japan without any agency on the part of the Japanese; it was actively adopted and adapted over centuries of cultural accretion and assimilation. Although there is much to be said for the position that the relationship was largely one-sided (there seems to be very little interest on the Chinese side in what the Japanese had to offer), it cannot be denied that the Japanese were not merely passive recipients of Chinese culture.

China provided the source for the Japanese writing system, numerous loanwords, systems of government, and medical and scientific knowledge. The classical Chinese language and Chinese monks were the conduit by which Buddhism was transmitted from India to Japan. Japanese reign or era names, a kind of symbolic sanctum sanctorum by virtue of their ordering of imperial time, were written in Chinese characters, given Sinified pronunciations, and selected from Chinese texts. Government officials held offices modeled in large part on their Chinese equivalents, albeit with various local modifications.

As a government official, Teika needed to be able to read and write classical Chinese, the language of edicts, bureaucratic correspondence, laws, records, historical sources, and official diaries. Although he was a virtuoso in poetry composed in the vernacular language, not Chinese, during his time there was keen interest in Chinese literature among his patrons, the Kujō family, and others. Japanese poems were written on Chinese topics, and Chinese texts could be alluded to in Japanese poems.

Teika kept his own diary, *Meigetsuki,* in classical Chinese (except for a few sections written in kana, discussed below). He sometimes recorded judgments of poetry contests in Chinese and left a few letters, as well. Teika wrote a narrative tale in kana and set it in late Tang China, also discussed below. His diary reveals him to be an avid reader in the Chinese classics, most notably the *Shi jing, Wen xuan,* and *Boshi wenji.* He and Jien each composed one hundred poems on Bo's works, which had been transmitted to Japan during the poet's lifetime, enshrined in the bilingual anthology *Wakan rōeishū,* and cherished up to Teika's day and beyond. Teika also wrote poems in Chinese (*kanshi*), some of which survive.[2]

In this chapter I explore the role of China or, more precisely, classical Chinese literary and historical texts, in Teika's writings. Teika

never traveled to China and is not known to have had significant contact with visitors from the continent or with returned travelers. Nonetheless, he was clearly preoccupied with China as a source for poetic inspiration, as an example for comparative political history, and perhaps, because he lacked direct knowledge of it, as a conceptual blank space upon which he could project his fantasies, fears, and desires. What was China to Teika, and how can his understanding of China enrich and expand our own understanding of how the Japanese have perceived China over time?

This topic could occupy an entire book by itself, but I have limited myself to treatments of three topics: China in the *Meigetsuki,* in Teika's Japanese and Chinese poetry, and in his work of historical fiction, *The Tale of Matsura*. These readings and analyses have yielded two fundamental conclusions. First, in the material to be examined, there is very little sense of a "fracture of meaning" or "obsessive fetishization" of a "wakan dialectic." Teika wrote and read in Chinese and Japanese and he admired classical Chinese culture. He was a Sinophile and a Sinologue. It is during his time that the written Japanese language was changing to incorporate a mixture of Chinese-derived and Japanese words (*wakan konkōbun*) in proportions that have remained more or less constant to this day. Rather than a binaristic "dialectic" or traumatic "fracture," it seems more accurate to say that genres of writing during Teika's time formed a kind of spectrum, from the all-native lexicon of waka to the all-kanji lexicon of orthodox kanbun or kanshi. Most writing, including variant kanbun and vernacular narrative, fell somewhere in between, and no point on the spectrum is completely bereft of contact with Chinese, if only because Chinese is the basis for the Japanese writing system itself and because the tropes, images, and themes prevalent in Chinese literature can be incorporated into any text in any language, including waka. For Teika and his erudite acquaintances, at least, it is difficult to discern any sense of anxiety or alienation with regard to classical Chinese culture. They recognized it as a product of a foreign environment, but were so deeply steeped in it from an early age that it seemed at once exotic and familiar. Within the same sector of society—mid- and high-ranking courtiers—one sees varying degrees of familiarity and comfort with Chinese writings. The Kujō family, Teika's patrons, for example, enjoyed a reputation for deep learning in the Chinese classics and skill in composing Chinese verse. At the other

extreme, Teika mentions upstart courtiers who, through personal favor, found their way into the aristocratic class without the requisite literary education and training in deportment. Teika himself began somewhere in between, moving closer to the Kujō end of the scale later in life through serious reading, study, and practice.

Second, the reception of classical Chinese texts by Japanese readers and writers does not seem to occur via a simple dynamic of absorption by one side of the works of the other. This is not to say that the relationship was mutual; there is little or no evidence of Chinese consumption of Japanese texts during this time. Rather, the relationship was mediated by a third party composed of Japanese readers who had high proficiency in reading and writing Chinese, and were conversant with the classical canon. As Satō Tsuneo has shown, literary tropes from Chinese poetry tended to make their way into Japanese verse indirectly, through the intermediation of Japanese kanshi poets. That is, Japanese poets who enjoyed advanced skills in reading and writing Chinese would write kanshi using these tropes; the kanshi would be read by waka poets with lesser skills in Chinese, and translated and incorporated into waka. The courtiers who grew up in hereditary scholastic families (such as the Sugawara and Ōe) played a prominent role in mediating this relationship, as did nonspecialists such as the Kujō and, later in life, Teika himself. Thus, rather than looking for a dualistic relationship, we should be thinking in terms of a three-part relationship, with the Sinologues at court playing in Teika's time a role not entirely unlike that played by visitors from the continent, including the Korean peninsula, in the Nara period and earlier.

China in the *Meigetsuki*

Teika wrote almost the entire text of *Meigetsuki* in classical Chinese, and that very fact bears implicit messages about his proficiency and comfort with the language. He recorded the weather, his daily activities, information received from family members and associates, and his feelings about the world around them in a foreign language or, more precisely, a second language. In other aspects, as well, most notably in his references to events from ancient Chinese history as parallels to what he witnessed himself, he tells us something about an enduring continuity between China and Japan.

There are also explicit messages, although not very many. One reads as follows:

> Heard that this year and last, birds and beasts from Song have been filling the capital. Is everyone who has free access to Chinese ships bringing some over? Wealthy families compete in raising them, etc.
>
> It says in "The Hounds of Lu" that "[The wise kings of yore] did not keep dogs that had not been born in their lands. (They did not keep that which was not born in that land, because they were not accustomed to using it.) Nor did they rear in their states rare birds or exotic beasts. (All of them are useless; they are harmful.) Because they did not prize goods from afar, people came from afar to them."[3]

This is an interesting passage for a number of reasons, besides its being among the few passages in *Meigetsuki* that actually deal with contemporary China rather than an imagined China of antiquity. "The Hounds of Lu" is a chapter of the classic Chinese text *Shang shu* (also known as *Shu jing* [The book of documents]). The parenthetical additions, which are given as half-size text in the original, are not part of the *Shang shu,* but come from a commentary on the text titled *Shang shu zheng yi.*[4] As is evident, they indicate a certain xenophobia or particularism. In this case Teika ironically uses a Chinese text to reject Chinese imports, namely, dogs and birds. Part of his hostility may come from an animus toward the nouveau riche, who were profiting from the China trade while he was left out in the cold. Another part is perhaps due to sheer conservatism expressed in the form of antagonism toward novelty, which is rather ironic in view of Teika's role in creating the innovative *Shinkokin* style.

The entry is also curious for its use of two separate dynastic names, Song and Tang, to refer to China. Teika uses "Song" to refer to contemporary China, which is appropriate, as it was the reigning dynasty, lasting from 960 to 1279. Yet he also uses "Tang," the name of an earlier dynasty, to refer to China, in part of the compound *tōsen* or *karafune,* literally "Tang ships." In this passage and in others by other writers, "Tang" (or "Kara" in the vernacular reading) meant not strictly Tang China or the Tang Dynasty, but rather China, or even the continent, in general.

In another passage, Teika despairs that Japanese pirates have killed people and plundered an island belonging to Koryō, a kingdom on the Korean peninsula. Japanese trading ships often needed to put

in there during trips to China to wait for fair winds, and one ship had been set afire in retaliation for the pirates' attack.[5]

These scant examples outline the extent of Teika's references to contemporary China. Other references to China in the *Meigetsuki* are for the most part less direct than these, and concerned not with contemporary China as a trading partner but with the imagined China of antiquity as a model and a case for historical comparison and parallels.

In some cases Teika explicitly names Chinese texts. For example, in 1229 Teika recorded that he instructed his adult son Jōshū, a Tendai monk living on Mount Hiei, in the "Two Capitals Rhapsody," "Rhapsody on the Wind," "Rhapsody on Autumn Inspirations," and the "Rhapsody on Snow" from the *Wen xuan*.[6] A few days later, they read the "Western Metropolis Rhapsody," "Rhapsody on the Moon," and the "Rhapsody on the Houlet," an owl-like bird.[7] Considered the most important and influential anthology of classical Chinese literature, the *Wen xuan* was compiled by Prince Xiao Tong in the early sixth century. It was highly regarded in Japan, as well, and the Mana Preface to the *Shin Kokinshū* draws heavily on it for lexical items, in particular the preface.[8] Although these are the only two mentions of the *Wen xuan* in the *Meigetsuki,* it appears that Teika and Jōshū were reading through the collection chapter by chapter.

Teika mentions the "Rhapsody on the Houlet" again, but not in the context of recording his reading habits. "From the bamboo in the adjoining lot to the south," he wrote a few years later, "came the high-pitched shriek of a thrush, about ten times (Hour of the Rabbit [5:00–7:00 a.m.]). There was no avoiding it. I recited the 'Rhapsody on the Houlet,' but it was not startled."[9] At first glance, this entry gives us a rare example of Teika's dry wit, but it also has a gloomier underside. As Kubota Jun notes, this rhapsody is a meditation on the impermanence and uncertainty of the world that accorded well with Teika's worldview: "Disaster is where good fortune rests; / Good fortune is where disaster lurks."[10] It is not surprising that he would have committed some of it to memory.

There are other texts that Teika mentions in the *Meigetsuki,* most frequently in his notes on the discussions at court that took place in selecting new era names. All of the proposed names are two-character compounds derived from ancient Chinese texts. The courtiers involved in choosing a name to present to the emperor for approval paid attention not only to the contexts in which the characters appeared but also to their Japanese readings and connotations. A good example is the

era Karoku, which was selected as the new era name in 1225 amid an epidemic. (Era names were always changed upon the accession of a new emperor, and often in the middle of reigns in times of disaster, ostensibly to bring about a change of fortune.) It is derived from a line in the Chinese collection of supernatural stories *Bowu zhi* (Accounts of sundry things, third century). Teika frets that Karoku was a homophone for *karoku* meaning "lightly" or "trivially." He further observes that the character for "deer" may be given the Japanese reading *ka* or the Sino-Japanese reading *roku,* so *karoku* suggests the elaphure and deer of a hunting ground, which made it even more unsuitable. He lists the courtiers who were said to be involved in the decision and says that a few of them were incapable of writing Chinese characters. There are a number of other proposed names listed that did not make the cut, drawn from texts including the *Wen xuan,* the *History of Liang* (*Liang shu*), and the divination manual *I Ching.*[11]

Most often, however, when Teika engages classical Chinese texts, he does so not through direct reference or citation but through implicit allusion. He read widely and deeply, but his most frequent sources are the *Wen xuan,* the *Shi ji,* and, above all, *Boshi wenji,* the collected works of Bo Juyi. The late Tang poet was acclaimed for his poetry in his own lifetime not only in China but in Japan, as well, and his collected works were read and esteemed in Japan long after he had been largely dismissed as a facile, popular poet in China, surpassed in reputation by Li Bo and Du Fu. Bo's works are very heavily represented in the *Wakan rōeishū* and other Japanese compilations of Chinese poetry that played a crucial role in mediating the reception of Chinese literature in Japan.

Some of the literary allusions lend a rich lyrical touch to Teika's description of landscapes or emotions. Others invoke folk stories or famous episodes to encapsulate the dynamics of a particular situation: an ignorant courtier, an ungrateful stepson. Still others suggest parallels between the turbulent events of ancient Chinese history and the political intrigues, machinations, and downfalls of Teika's own day.

In general, Teika's historical vision was negative and pessimistic. The words *matsudai* and *masse* ("final age" or "era") appear many times in *Meigetsuki* in the context of disparaging references to Teika's own time. To a certain extent, this tendency is affiliated with a Buddhist historical worldview that saw that the true Dharma and true practice had deteriorated, and salvation through one's own efforts was no longer possible. This worldview, which was widespread and has

been studied extensively,[12] may be encapsulated in the term *mappō* ("final age of the Dharma"), but that term never appears in the *Meigetsuki.* Perhaps this is because Teika did not subscribe to a Buddhist understanding of history. Unlike Jien, whose historical work *Gukanshō* linked the secular and the sacred, Teika understood history in predominately secular terms, based on his reading in Chinese and Japanese sources. He seems to have shared strongly a belief espoused by another acquaintance, Kamo no Chōmei, who wrote in the *Hōjōki,* "One should understand the current state of the world by comparing it with that of antiquity."[13] For the most part, Teika felt that his own times came up short. It is a mistake, however, to simply ascribe this to a contemporary mind-set, because not everyone shared his point of view. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, for example, likely felt that he was presiding over a golden age whose brilliance was dimmed only by the interference of the shogunate and the Hōjō regency. Teika's criticisms of contemporary politics and society owe something to his dissatisfaction with the rate of progress he was making through the court ranks and his perennial lack of funds. They might also be linked to an inherently gloomy disposition.

In 1234 Teika was in the final stages of preparing the *Shin chokusen wakashū.* Various factors complicated his work, including the inability of the reigning emperor to furnish Teika with a suitable number of his own poems; the death of said emperor before the anthology was complete; the unusual machinations of the senior courtiers who supervised the project after the emperor's death; and above all, the taboo against including verses by persons who had been involved in the Jōkyū Uprising, including some very fine poets, such as Retired Emperors Go-Toba and Juntoku. In one entry, Teika describes the presentation of his initial draft to the court:

> Paper for presentation of the anthology (colored paper); the cover sheets scrawled in my own poor hand (blue thin silk, with a Chinese pattern on the back); the string (braided); the scroll rods (rolled up with a round design of apricot leaves). I submitted the draft, noting that the number of poems now included amounts to 1,498 and that, with the *Goshūishū* as a model, I would have liked to add two more imperial poems, to make it a round [one thousand] five hundred.[14]

In this entry, which is the only extant entry for the month in a year for which there are few extant entries, and none in the autograph

version, Teika discusses the physical properties of the official version of the anthology that he submitted to the court for issuance. It is clear that the fair copy was not prepared by Teika, who readily confessed that his handwriting was unsightly; he inscribed only the cover sheet of each scroll.

In a later addendum to this entry, Teika retrospectively comments on what he did not know then—that Retired Emperor Go-Horikawa would die a few months later, before the anthology was officially completed. Following precedent, Teika would burn his copy in the garden, but Go-Horikawa's draft was retrieved and used to finish the work:

> 豈計、扶桑之影徒往、蒼梧之雲空断。今者無所期。所残之草、急焼
> 棄之。及十月下旬、不慮之外、旧院之草本、自大殿被尋召云々。
>
> How could one have expected that the sun's light would flee uselessly, that the clouds of Cangwu would be severed in vain? Now there is nothing to hope for. In haste I burned the remaining pages and threw them away; toward the end of the tenth month, much to my surprise I learned that His late Majesty's draft was discovered in the minister's residence.[15]

The first sentence contains two allusions to Chinese texts. The "sun's light" translates "*fusō no kage.*" *Fusō* (Ch. *fusang*) is the name of a mythical tree, resembling the mulberry, which in China was believed to grow in the east. By extension, it came to mean both "the east," "the sun" (because it rises in the east), and "Japan" (located east of China). In the present context, the denotation intended is "sunlight" and the connotation is "the emperor, and his benevolent, nourishing presence."

This distinctive phrase originates in classical Chinese texts, but it also appears in these lines, which appear in the *Wakan rōeishū:*

> 扶桑豈無影乎 浮雲掩而忽昏 叢蘭豈不芳乎 秋風吹而先敗[16]
>
> Is it that the sun produces no light?
> —Floating clouds obscure it, and it suddenly goes dark.
> Is it that the clustered orchids are not fragrant?
> —The autumn wind blows on them, and they fade away too early.[17]

These lines are excerpted from the "Rhapsody on Tu Qiu," by Prince Kaneakira (914–987).[18] Kaneakira was a prince who took the Mina-

moto surname and served as Minister of the Left, but was thwarted politically by the regent Kanemichi and retired to Saga, a western suburb of Kyoto. He is perhaps best known as the author of the *Chiteiki,* an essay in kanbun on the merits of a life of reclusion, which was a principal influence for Chōmei's *Hōjōki.*[19] Kaneakira's rhapsody, which is included in its entirety in the collection *Honchō monzui,* is a severe indictment of the intrigues of court politics. In the lines quoted above, the imperial sunlight is obscured by meddlesome courtiers, and the loyal ministers, too, symbolized by the orchids, suffer reprisals for their honest efforts and are forced, like Kaneakira himself, into premature retirement.

Teika certainly would have been familiar with these lines, since they appear in *Wakan rōeishū,* and he may very well have read the rhapsody in its entirety in *Honchō monzui.* He would have taken a special interest in the works of Kaneakira, because Teika's great-great-grandfather Nagaie (1005–1064) had lived in the prince's former residence; in fact, the Mikohidari lineage that Nagaie founded, and to which Teika, Shunzei, and Nagaie's many other descendants belonged, was named after their hereditary residence in Kyoto, which had originally belonged to the Prince (*miko*) who had served as Minister of the Left (*hidari*): Kaneakira himself. In addition, Teika too maintained a villa in Saga and, perhaps most important of all, he shared the Prince's jaundiced view of court politics.

Thus, in these fragments we can glean the traces of an entire worldview. Not only is the emperor's passing lamented, but the phrase used to mourn him has strong associations with a vision in which self-serving courtiers obstruct the emperor's wishes and frustrate their honest colleagues. Teika found the entire experience of compiling the *Shin chokusenshū* a vexing one, compounded above all by the machinations of his patron, Kujō Michiie, who demanded that Teika omit poems by Retired Emperor Go-Toba and his sons.[20]

As is apparent from the translation, there is a second phrase that is based on Chinese sources, the toponym Cangwu. Located in present-day Hunan Province, Cangwu is a mountain that is said to be the place where the legendary Chinese emperor Shun died and was buried. Along with his predecessor Emperor Yao, Shun is one of the paragons of sage rulership in ancient China. In mentioning Cangwu in this context, Teika is implicitly associating the late Go-Horikawa with this sage-king, and thereby eulogizing him. Whatever Teika may have thought of Go-Horikawa in life (he had great difficulty in getting the

emperor to produce even five waka for the anthology), he was beyond all reproach in death.

Cangwu is mentioned in Shun's biography, as given by the *Shi ji:* "He acceded to the throne at the age of thirty-nine. While on a hunting trip in the south, he died in the wilds of Cangwu."[21] Teika enjoyed reading the *Shi ji* and was taken with the concept of an ideal ruler, so it is possible that this was his source, but there is a better alternative, one which includes the image of clouds with a mention of Cangwu. It is a couplet in Chinese by Tachibana no Aritsura (d. mid-tenth century) that appears in the anthology of *kanshi* and waka *Shinsen rōeishū* (ed. Fujiwara no Mototoshi, early twelfth century):

> 身留細柳孤営月 涙灑蒼梧一片雲
>
> Long have you remained at Xiliu, camped alone in moonlight.
> I weep copious tears at Cangwu under a solitary cloud.[22]

Excerpted from a longer poem, each line expresses a separate regret. In the first, Aritsura laments the lack of progress through the court military ranks of the recipient, his friend Minamoto no Fusaakira (d. 939), who was stuck at the rank of colonel (*chūjō*) in the imperial bodyguard. Aritsura alludes to this rank by referring to Zhou Yafu (d. 143 BCE), a famous general of the Han Dynasty who was sent to fend off an invasion by the Xiong-nu, and set up camp at Xiliu, west of Chang'an. In the second, Aritsura mourns the late emperor Daigo (885–930; r. 897–930) by implicitly comparing him to Shun.

Another example in which Teika alluded to or referred to Chinese texts occurs in a comment he makes on contemporary social mores in the portion of *Meigetsuki* that cover the ninth month of the second year of Karoku (1226).[23] Teika hears of the sad plight of the widow of Prince Koreakira (1179–1221), who is estranged from her stepsons, the Prince's sons by an earlier wife. Although one of the sons is a powerful abbot at the Daigoji temple, he refuses to give her any financial support. Fortunately, a relative steps forward to look after her, but Teika is deeply saddened by the whole affair. He comments, "Isn't this like the reputation of the Liu clan? When seeing and hearing this I felt only pain in my heart. Fan Wenzi had his priest pray for his death."

The reference to the Liu clan draws a parallel between the stepsons' shabby treatment of their stepmother and the machinations of

Empress Lü Zhi after the death of her husband, Gaozu, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty. After her son by Gaozu accedes to the throne as his father's successor, Lü Zhi arranges for her former rival, the consort Qi, to be mutilated, humiliated, and killed, and has Qi's son poisoned, shocking even the reigning emperor. In this comparison, the prince corresponds to Gaozu, his son the abbot to Lü, and the stepmother to the consort Qi. Although the two cases are somewhat similar insofar as they deal with the mistreatment of a widow after her husband's death, there is really no similarity between the sons' refusal to support their stepmother financially and the treatment given to consort Qi. Nonetheless, exaggeration and hyperbole are common tendencies in the *Meigetsuki.*

The mention of Fan Wenzi is an allusion to an anecdote in the historical chronicle *Tso chuan.* Fan Wenzi, also known as Shi Xie (Shih Hsieh; d. 574 BCE), was a general during the Zhou dynasty.

> When Shih Hsieh returned from the Battle of Yen-ling, he ordered the invocator of his clan to offer up prayers for his death. "Our ruler is arrogant and spendthrift and now he has defeated his enemies," he said. "Heaven is worsening the sickness that besets him. Trouble will surely follow. Those who love me would do well to pray for my speedy death, so I may not live to see the troubles. That would be a blessing to our clan."
>
> In the sixth month, the day *mou-ch'en,* Shih Hsieh died.[24]

Teika sees himself as Wenzi. Like Wenzi, he did not wish to live in a degraded and benighted age. In Teika's case, such feelings were provoked by the shabby treatment of a widow at the hands of her well-off stepson. He invited his own death as an escape from the ordeal of seeing such behavior repeated.

During the same month, Teika worries about his son Jōshū (the one whom he tutored in reading the *Wen xuan*). A monk on Mount Hiei, Jōshū is visiting Teika briefly and preparing to return to his monastery, but there is a shortage of food. Almost in passing, Teika wonders, "Will it be Mount Shouyang?" This remark alludes to the ancient Chinese exiles Bo Yi and Shu Qi, who died of hunger on the mountain because they refused to serve King Wu of Zhou.

As we can see from these examples, Teika constantly saw similarities between contemporary affairs in the Japanese capital and events that had taken place long ago in a foreign land. Yet there is no sense

of a discord or dissonance, whether temporal, spatial, or cultural. The late emperor Go-Horikawa is represented by the legendary emperor Shun; Teika's son, by the virtuous exiles who starved themselves for a principle; and Teika himself by the general Fan Wenzi. Although all of these comparisons are distorted, the disjuncture arises from a difference in actual circumstances: the Chinese examples are much more extreme than their Japanese counterparts. But the sense of a disconnect is not inherent in the different cultural contexts from which the cases come.

Previous scholarship on the use of Chinese sources in *Meigetsuki* is extensive. The famous "*kōki seijū*" remark, discussed above, in which Teika professed indifference to contemporary military and political affairs, has been the subject of extensive discussion and debate.[25] Kubota Jun, the dean of Teika studies, published a good survey of the topic, with special emphasis on the "New Music Bureau" (Ch. *Xin yuefu*) ballads of Bo Juyi.[26] Satō Tsuneo has also focused on Teika's use of Bo's poetry, emphasizing the mediation of *Wakan rōeishū* and other texts, while acknowledging that Teika also read Bo directly through his collected works, *Boshi wenji*.[27] Muranaka Natsumi has studied the relationship between Teika's work, including the *Meigetsuki,* and the *Meng qiu,* a Tang anthology of didactic epigrams that was very popular in Japan. She discusses the rhetoric of poverty and Teika's depiction of himself as impoverished (even though he was a courtier).[28] Ogawa Takeo has examined briefly Teika's understanding and usage of *Wen xuan*.[29] Yamada Naoko has elucidated all the Chinese references in a single month of entries in *Meigetsuki,* showing how Teika's understanding of the story of Fan Li, a wealthy man who became a recluse, differed from the usual interpretation. Other writers tended to focus on Fan Li's withdrawal from the world, while Teika emphasized his wealth, using Fan Li as a kind of shorthand for the nouveau-riche whose arrival in court circles distressed him greatly.[30] We should expect more research on this theme as the authoritative Reizei edition of the *Meigetsuki* is completed, and as digitally aided methods for text analysis develop further. (The connection between Kaneakira's poem and Teika's note on the death of Go-Horikawa discussed above was uncovered by repeated searches for the longest common sequence in digital text versions of the *Meigetsuki* and *Wakan rōeishū,* using the proprietary software program *Mathematica*.)

Previous scholarship on allusions to Chinese texts in the *Meigetsuki* has uncovered some interesting results. Matsumura Yūji claims that Teika strikes a "pose" by using kanbun. He detects a certain pretentiousness that, he claims, is inherent to kanbun discourse. Kanbun, in Matsumura's view, is intrinsically prone to exaggeration. As an example, he cites an entry in which Teika describes his feelings upon hearing a break-in take place at the house next door: "Tonight I experienced this sort of fear for the first time. The present state of the world is deeply saddening. . . . I feel as if my spirit is dispersing and I cannot sleep."[31] The event Teika describes is what we would call a home invasion, as the occupants were present during the break-in. The experience of encountering even relatively minor assaults in real life can be surprisingly terrifying. Even if it were theoretically possible to prove that kanbun is inherently pretentious, this passage is not an adequate basis for Matsumura's claim.

Fortunately, other scholars have offered subtler and more persuasive arguments. Muranaka Natsumi has attempted to uncover Teika's sense of himself as impoverished, even though he belonged to the courtier class. Focusing on Teika's allusions to *Menq qiu,* Muranaka examines Teika's self-depiction as Yuan Xian, a disciple of Confucius and paragon of virtuous poverty (*seihin*). She then attempts to correlate appearances of the Yuan Xian persona in *Meigetsuki* with Teika's economic circumstances, especially the various residences he owned, about which we have a considerable amount of information. Her conclusion is that no correlation exists: Teika portrays himself as impoverished at various points in his life and career, irrespective of his actual financial health.[32] Muranaka's carefully researched argument undermines Matsumura's claim that the choice of language (kanbun) drove Teika toward exaggeration and pretense; it suggests instead that he was temperamentally inclined toward negative affect—feelings of frustration, anger, and fear—and operated independently of language choice or material conditions.

Further progress has been made along these lines by Xie Qin, who studied allusions to a range of Chinese texts in *Meigetsuki* and attempted to enumerate the various outcomes or effects of these allusions.[33] In some cases, she observes that Teika had only a superficial grasp of the source text, and the allusion is superfluous; in other cases, that he fully comprehended his source, and used it to good effect; in still other cases, she judges his comprehension of the source text to be

mistaken at the root, and the allusion fails. The most interesting allusive outcome occurs when Teika seems to have gained the gist of a text, but deliberately alters it to fit his own ends. Typically, these ends entail the expression of negative affect. Following Satō Tsuneo, Xie cites Teika's use of the phrase "it is rare to live until the age of seventy" 人生七十稀, a phrase that originates in the poetry of Du Fu but that Teika encounters instead via Bo Juyi.

This phrase occurs twice in Bo's collected works, *Boshi wenji*. The first instance is a poem written when he transplanted some pine seedlings when he was already past the age of forty. (In this case, it seems safe to identify the speaker of this poem, and of the one below, with the poet himself.) The occasion prompts a meditation on his own mortality:

如何過四十	. . . . What can I do? Past forty,
種此数寸枝	I transplanted these little branches,
得見成陰否	but will I ever get to see their shade?
人生七十稀	Living till seventy is a rare thing.[34]

Not only did Bo live to the age of seventy-five, but he wrote another poem at the age of seventy, reusing the phrase and thereby lending it an inimitable feeling of depth.

人生七十稀	. . . Living to seventy is a rare thing—
我年幸過之	fortunately, my age has exceeded it.
遠行将路尽	Having traveled far, my journey's end is near:
春夢欲覚時	the moment one is about to wake from a spring dream.[35]

Upon attaining the rare age of seventy, Bo's reaction is a mixture of relief (the long journey ending) and sadness (the dream in spring breaks all too soon). All in all, however, he seems surprised and grateful to have lived so long.

Teika's use of the phrase is quite different. Fortunately, we have an entry from the *Meigetsuki* that was composed the night before Teika celebrated his seventieth birthday, the last day of Kanki 2 (1230). (In the traditional count, one gained a year in age on New Year's Day; "birthdays" were celebrated on the first day of the year, not on the same day one was born.) He begins, characteristically, with an observation based on his extensive reading: "In the *Collected Works of Bo*

Juyi there appears often this line: 'Living until seventy is a rare thing.' "[36] Clearly, Teika had in mind the poems discussed above. He continues with another characteristic remark, this one based on his extraordinary archive of documents:

> Among my ancestors there are many who did not pass sixty, and although only my father passed ninety, that was after he took the tonsure. Beginning with my earliest ancestor, among the senior nobles of this family, there are forty-six who have reached my age with white hair on their heads. This should certainly be called rare.

A list follows. After giving the names of his ancestors who reached the age of seventy, Teika provides the reasons for his own longevity:

> Needless to say, during the last century there have been only ten men. My poverty and scant fortune are punishments for my previous lives. I know that I have nothing—bereft of good deeds in this life, and lacking its deep secrets. I am just an old man who has lived long. Although my official career has stagnated and it is not the case that no one of my cohort cannot match me, when it comes to unsullied poverty I am unrivalled,[37] and perhaps that is what has blessed me with long life. This is at once odd and frightening, and so I have set it down.

Unwilling to express simple gratitude for having lived long and prospered, Teika perversely links his good fortune to misfortune: his perceived poverty. (At the time, he held Senior Second Rank and the post of *sangi,* or adviser, to the Council of State.) Teika uses the phrase *seihin* 清貧 "unsullied poverty," which carries Confucian connotations of the upright sage who refuses to compromise his ideals at the expense of his economic well-being.[38]

In Xie's analysis, this entry reveals that, even when Teika fully understood his source text, he could warp it or, more accurately, use it as a point of departure en route to thoughts of frustration and pessimism that had no root in the original context. This and other examples adduced by Xie contribute to a convincing analysis, and if we accept it then we can come to grasp the complex, dialogic relationship between Teika and the Chinese literary and historical archive. On the one hand, access to the classical Chinese canon opened up new vistas for Teika: phrases, stories, tropes, characters, events.

They changed him irrevocably. On the other, he was not a passive recipient but an active selector and shaper of the texts he read and re-used. These texts passed through the filters of his intellect and temperament. He changed them.

The "Crimson Banners" Remark, Revisited

As discussed in the biography of Teika presented in Chapter 1, the most famous section of the *Meigetsuki* is the "crimson banners" remark (*Kōki seiju, wa ga koto ni arazu*), which is dated the ninth month of 1180, as the Genpei War was getting under way. While the previous discussion focused on the entry in the context of an overall view of Teika's life, it is worth revisiting it here in a different context, that of the use of classical Chinese literary and historical texts by Teika to mediate his understanding of contemporary historical events and his own life.

Resummarized briefly, the entry reads, in part: "[Reports of] sedition and punitive forces in the realm fill my ears, but I shall not record them. *Crimson banners and the conquest of barbarians are no business of mine.*"[39] "Sedition" refers to the gathering of Minamoto forces in the east under the command of Minamoto no Yoritomo; "crimson banners" refers to the Taira family's war colors; and "the conquest of barbarians" refers to a punitive expedition sent against the Minamoto by the court at the behest of the Taira patriarch, Kiyomori. It was led by Kiyomori's grandson Koremori and was unsuccessful.

Despite his profession of indifference, Teika did have a personal interest, through family members, in the success of Koremori's mission. A half sister, nicknamed Kyōgoku, had a daughter known as Shin dainagon, who was married to Koremori. (Their son Rokudai is well known to readers of *The Tale of the Heike* as the last male survivor of the Taira family; initially spared by Yoritomo after the war ends, he is executed some years later to eliminate any prospect of a Taira revival. Rokudai was the great-grandson not only of Kiyomori but of Shunzei, as well.) Although the Taira had usurped many of the court offices that had been previously held by Fujiwara courtiers (and therefore Teika might have welcomed their downfall), Teika's niece was married to a leading member of the family. Teika's claim that Koremori's mission had nothing to do with him was true only in the strict sense that he was man of letters, not of arms; otherwise, it was not a declaration but a wish.

We also know that the lines italicized above appear to have been drawn from a poem by Bo Juyi, the most popular Chinese poet among Japanese readers in Teika's time. It reads as follows:

劉十九同宿 時淮寇初破	"Staying with Liu XIX" (When the Huai enemy forces first lost in battle)
紅旗破賊非吾事	Crimson banners and the defeat of rebels are no business of mine.
黄紙除書無我名	The list of appointments on yellow paper does not bear my name.
唯共嵩陽劉處士	I just play *go* with the former official Liu from Songyang
圍棊賭酒到天明	as we try to outdrink each other until dawn.[40]

In my view, what attracted Teika to this poem was not the first line but the second. We know from *Meigetsuki* that Teika was intensely preoccupied and dissatisfied with the progress of his career. The twice-yearly *jimoku* (announcements of promotions and appointments at court) were of great interest to him, and there were many occasions on which the list of appointments did not bear his name.

It is also worth noting that Teika changed Bo's line slightly when he incorporated it into his own text. Bo wrote 紅旗破賊非吾事 and Teika wrote 紅旗征戎非吾事, substituting 征戎 "conquest of barbarians" (J. *seijū*) for 破賊 "defeat of rebels" (J. *hazoku,* Ch. *pozei*). Teika is renowned as an accurate copyist, so putting aside the possibility of a simple error (or that of a simple difference in textual editions), what might be the significance of this alteration?

Bo's phrase, *pozei* 破賊 "defeat of rebels," refers to the subtitle of his poem, an imperial expedition against the Huai people, a non-Han group that lived near the Huai River.[41] The first character is commonly used in the sense of a military defeat (or victory, depending on one's perspective); the second has completely negative connotations, and could also be translated as "thieves," "bandits," "evildoers," or "traitors."

Teika's phrase *seijū* 征戎 "conquest of barbarians" is, strictly speaking, more apposite to the context of Bo's poem than Bo's phrase was. The Chinese character 戎 (J. *jū;* Mandarin *rong*) has a range of meanings, including "armaments," "military affairs," "war chariots," and "barbarians." Teika's phrase is rather rare. It does not appear in the *Dai kanwa jiten,* but the similar and much more common phrase

seiju 征戍 does; it means "to defend the border against invasion." That does not suit Teika's purposes, but where did he find the rare phrase *seijū* 征戎?[42]

To begin with the conclusion, I would suggest that Teika may have found it while reading the *Shu jing*. The *Shu jing* is a collection of speeches from various events in ancient Chinese history. Its authorship is uncertain, and some of its chapters have been shown to be later forgeries. In an address called "The Speech at Bi" in a chapter titled "The Book of Zhou," we find, "The duke said, "Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the *Huai* and of Xu, which have risen up together."[43] The Huai mentioned are the very same Huai that appear in the subtitle to Bo Juyi's poem. Later, the duke continues, "On the day Jia-Xu I will take action against the hordes of Xu" (甲戌、我惟征徐戎). In the original we see, separated only by a single character, the rare phrase *seijū* 征戎 that Teika used in his reworking of Bo Juyi's line. It is not unreasonable to speculate that, looking up the unfamiliar term *Huai* 淮, Teika encountered this passage, and borrowed the characters *seijū* 征戎 for his entry in the *Meigetsuki*.

Although this is not unreasonable, it is hardly convincing. We know for certain that Teika read the *Shu jing*—he cited the "Hounds of Lu" chapter in an entry discussed above—but even the addition of that fact is insufficient. Fortunately, we can more tightly link the *Meigetsuki* entry to the *Shu jing,* and form a fairly persuasive hypothesis that Teika was actively reading the *Shu jing* when he composed the "crimson banners" entry.

The most decisive piece of evidence backing Tsuji Hikosaburō's argument that Teika composed the "crimson banners" entry not in 1180 but some decades later is the appearance of the same lines in a colophon to a copy of the second imperial waka anthology, *Gosen wakashū,* that is thought to have been composed by Teika. The colophon reads:

> Inscribed Jōkyū 3.5.21 [1221], noon. Now there are great omens in the realm, the emperor and all three of the former sovereigns reside in the same place. Yak-hair tassels flutter in the wind; frosty swords glint in the sun. For a lowly retainer, *crimson banners and the subjugation of barbarians are no business of mine*. I rest in my hovel alone and nurse my ailing body. How sad! "*When the fire blazes over the ridge of Mount*

> *Kunlun, gems and stones are burned together.*" When I contemplate the rest of my life, I just wipe away the tears of an old man . . .
>
> 承久三年五月廿一日午時書之、于時天下大徵之、天子三上皇皆御同所、白旄飜風、霜刃耀日、如微臣者、紅旗征戎非吾事、独臥私廬、暫扶病身、悲矣、火災崐岡、玉石倶焚、倩思残涯、只拭老涙、[44]

If the date is to be believed, this colophon was composed just after the Jōkyū Uprising began. Retired Emperor Go-Toba had gathered his forces a week earlier and placed Saionji Kintsune and his son under house arrest. Then he ordered an attack on the bakufu's representative in Kyoto and issued a directive calling for the destruction of the shogunal regent, Hōjō Yoshitoki. As the entry was being written, Kamakura had learned of Go-Toba's actions and was building an army that would enter the capital in the middle of the sixth month. A month after that, Go-Toba would be exiled to Oki, and one of his sons, Retired Emperor Juntoku, to Sado. (Another son, Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, "voluntarily" went into exile in the province of Tosa a few months later.) At the time of the entry, these retired emperors and the reigning emperor, Juntoku's son Chūkyō, were gathered at Go-Toba's residence, the Kōyō-in, under heavy guard.[45]

The colophon describes the atmosphere in heavily Sinified terms. The "yak-hair tassels" refer to batons held by commanders. Then the "crimson banner" remark appears, with some slight context; it is no business of Teika's because his rank is too low; he is a *bishin* 微臣, or insignificant retainer (in contrast to a *daijin* 大臣, usually translated as "minister"). As the quotation marks suggest, the colophon contains a direct quote: "*When the fire blazes over the ridge of Mount Kunlun, gems and stones are burned together.*" Herein lies the close connection to the *Shu jing* that may explain Teika's unusual adaptation of Bo Juyi's line and further corroborate the authenticity of the colophon, which has been questioned.

The quote is taken verbatim from the "Punitive Expedition of Yin" section of the *Book of Xia* in the *Shu jing:*

> When Zhong Kang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Xi and He had neglected the duties of their office and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

> He made an announcement to his hosts, saying . . . "Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.
>
> "*When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kunlun, gems and stones are burned together*; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves."[46]

Teika's use of the "gems and stones" image suggests that he feared an indiscriminate purge of the court after the smoke cleared, and that, although he was currently persona non grata in the palaces of Go-Toba and his sons, he would suffer by being associated with them—perhaps not death or exile, but forfeiture of his rank and titles and, more importantly, the premature end of his son Tameie's career. It is an exceedingly apt metaphor that adds to the credibility of the text because, in the end, Teika was spared. In fact, he benefited from his estrangement from Go-Toba (and his association with the Saionji through his second wife's family) and was promoted to even higher rank after Jōkyū. Although it is possible to imagine that a forger would grasp the dramatic irony of Teika's position and seek to reproduce his feelings at that time, it seems more plausible that the colophon is authentic.

The connection between the "crimson banners" remark and these various sections of the *Shu jing* has not, to the best of my knowledge, been previously identified in the extensive extant scholarship on this subject. Moreover, the source analysis conducted above adds further evidence in support of the view that Teika did compose the "crimson banners" remark in 1221, not 1180, and interpolated it into the earlier entry while he was recopying his diary. If that is the case, it forces us to reconsider *Meigetsuki* not merely as a day-by-day record of events described as they happened but as something approaching—but not equaling—memoir, with a retrospective process of editing and redacting during the recopying process. "A diarist who makes a second draft of his diary," it has been observed, "is moving toward fiction already."[47] Since we lack the original, first-draft *Meigetsuki,* a definitive conclusion about how much Teika altered his diary will never be

possible. Nonetheless, if we bear this episode in mind, further instances may become apparent.

Usage of kana in the *Meigetsuki*

Like many of his associates, Teika was biliterate in classical Japanese and classical Chinese. How did his choice to write in kanbun affect the content of *Meigetsuki*? In our consideration of the relationship between classical Chinese texts and Teika's works, we should consider not only images of China and references to specific Chinese texts but also the Chinese language itself. How might a kana *Meigetsuki* have differed from a kanbun one?

Fortunately, this is not a merely speculative question. About 1 percent of the *Meigetsuki* was in fact actually written in kana. Although such a sample would have to be random to provide a true basis for comparison, and it is not—Teika used kana at various times for specific reasons—it does illustrate some of the limitations and capacities of kanbun in diary literature.

Some of the reasons for Teika's use of kana in the *Meigetsuki* are readily apparent.[48] He transcribed waka in kana, rather than using the obsolete and unwieldy *man'yōgana.* Sometimes, as we shall see below, utterances in Japanese were transcribed verbatim in kana rather than being translated into kanbun. Also, although kanbun is perfectly capable of describing precise physical movements, at times Teika included a grammatical particle (*ni, te,* and so on) here and there to supplement his description of a court ceremony or Buddhist ritual. Other reasons are not so easy to identify. Gomi Fumihiko has suggested that Teika wrote in kana on one occasion to provide his daughter with a model for her own diary.[49] (Court women generally did not use kanbun.)

Let us begin with the most significant portion of the *Meigetsuki* written in kana: Teika's entries on the death of his father, Shunzei. He died of illness at the age of ninety-one, when Teika was forty-three years old (both ages are by the Japanese count).

Late in the year 1204 (Genkyū 1), Shunzei took ill and was moved, as custom dictated, to a Buddhist temple, in this case, the Hosshōji temple located in southeast Kyoto, which had close ties to the Kujō family. Teika's siblings, especially his sisters, stayed with Shunzei, but Teika found it impossible to endure the cold nights and returned to

his own residence to sleep, leaving his house each morning to attend Shunzei at Hosshōji. On the 30th day of the eleventh month, Teika was preparing to depart as usual:

> While preparing to go see Father at dawn, I was met by a messenger, and hurried out. One could hear the *nenbutsu* being chanted in a loud voice, and I heard that Father had already passed away. I entered the bedchamber. He had already closed his eyes while he was still alive.[50]

Teika missed the critical moment of his father's death because he was sleeping at home, rather than at the temple. What follows is Teika's description of Shunzei's last moments as told by Teika's older sister Ken Gozen (1157–ca. 1226), who served as a lady-in-waiting for forty years and left a kana diary, *Tamakiwaru*.[51] Portions of the original text inscribed in kana are rendered in italics in the translation:

> Ken Gozen said: "Last night we obtained some snow and gave it to Father. He was especially delighted, and asked for it again and again. His words were, '*What a marvelous thing! What an indescribable thing!*' He asked for more. '*What a lovely thing!*' We were very afraid and hid it."

Shunzei may have been suffering from a sore throat, or extremely swollen lymph glands due to infection, and the cold snow may have soothed his pain. At first glance, the passage sounds elegant, even poetic; the passages in kana in the original are "*medetaki mono ka na,*" "*nao e mo iwanu mono ka na,*" and "*omoshiroi mono ka na*" (*nao* and, sometimes, *mono* are given in kanji). By the phrase "his words were" (*sono kotoba*) we know for sure that Teika rendered these phrases in kana because he felt the need to record his father's last words in this world verbatim and without paraphrase. Having failed to be present at the time of Shunzei's death, he could compensate in some way by recording what Shunzei said and did.

Unfortunately, this was not the ideal way to die in medieval Japan. Ideally, one died peacefully and lucidly, chanting a sūtra or the *nenbutsu* in the presence of a "good friend" (*zen chishiki*), a virtuous and skillful Buddhist monk.[52] Regardless of one's conduct over the span of a lifetime, the circumstances of one's death were believed to affect one's prospects for rebirth in the next one. A poor death would lead to reincarnation in one of the six realms, with only the most

fortunate being reborn as human beings; a good death could lead to rebirth in the Pure Land and exemption from the misery of repeated reincarnation. Shunzei seems to have been not lucid, with his repeated demands for more snow and his fascination with it; he was not merely seeking respite from pain. This erratic behavior likely accounts for the fear that Ken Gozen and others felt. In fact, they may have thought he was possessed by malevolent spirits.[53]

Ken Gozen's version of the events continues:

> Last night Father summoned me again, and once more I found some and gave it to him. "How thoughtful," he said. He was deeply moved. Then he rested and fell asleep. The entire time, the sound of the young priest reciting the nenbutsu never ceased. At about dawn today, Father said, *"I think I am about to die."* When I heard his voice, I got up quickly and went to his side. I asked him, *"Do you feel worse than usual?"* He nodded. I said, *"Then say your nenbutsu with the thought that you are going to Paradise."* He nodded again. And I said, *"Would you like to be sat up?"* And he seemed to agree. I called over a young servant and had him hold Father and raise him up. Even though the man approached, Father was unaware that he was near him. He said himself, *"Help me sit up."* During this time, I had gone back to my place and was lying down, and when they were helping him sit up, Enju Gozen *said, "That face!"* and I got up again and looked at him. *He seemed to be in great pain,* so I called a young priest over and had him urge Father to recite the nenbutsu. Father's nenbutsu and his appearance were peaceful, and he passed away.

His few words and frequent nods suggest that Shunzei had difficulty speaking. He was so disoriented by his illness that he was oblivious to the approach of a servant near him. Nonetheless, at the crucial moment of death, a priest was present, and Shunzei recited the nenbutsu (or the priest recited it for him). Unfortunately, we cannot call this a peaceful death; Shunzei died with a grimace of agony.

This passage is justly famous. Ishida Yoshisada hailed the entry as a masterpiece of diary literature, drawing special attention to Teika's dispassionate but caring treatment, which he saw as indicative of a "coldhearted love" (*reikoku na ai*).[54] But Ishida's benign view has been challenged by Takizawa Yūko, who proposed the reading I have rehearsed so far. Special attention is given by Takizawa to a headnote appended to the text that appears directly above the passage that we

have discussed. It reads, "During this time, someone asked Father whether he was prepared for the 'Chapter of the Broad Gate,' and he said he was. Father read the chapter in its entirety without stopping." The scriptural reference is to chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sūtra,* sometimes treated as a separate scripture and given the titled "Kannon Sūtra." It extols the power and benevolence of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who will save and succor us:

> For the pure saint Who Observes the Sounds of the World
> In the discomforts of pain, agony, and death
> Can be a point of reliance.
> Fully endowed with all the merits,
> His benevolent eye beholding the beings,
> He is happiness accumulated, a sea incalculable.
> For this reason one must bow one's head to him.[55]

It seems unlikely that Shunzei, who seemed to have been speaking only with difficulty, could have recited the entire sūtra without stopping. Moreover, as Takizawa notes, this headnote suggests a recognition on the part of Teika that Shunzei did not die "properly," and represents an attempt to burnish the memory of his father's death with this added information, regardless of whether it is false or true. This presents an example of the sometimes crucial importance of the *Meigetsuki* headnotes, which often present new information rather than summaries, and are missing from the Kokusho kankōkai edition.

Finally, the voice of the entry shifts back to Teika's:

> When I heard this, my heart found some solace, even in the midst of my grief as I looked at Father. He had already passed away. I lay down. All of the ladies had left, and I had the young priest and the young servant, Nariyasu, remove his back rest (he was leaning against thick mats). *Lit a lantern near his pillow,* and had Nariyasu, the priest, et al. *arrange his clothing.* (They *undid* his robes and then dressed him; I did not watch closely.) Before this, I lowered the lattices and closed the doors myself. Then I gave instructions to the young priest and Nariyasu to take turns staying with Father.

Exhausted by their work over the past few days and perhaps eager to avoid ritual pollution by contact with a corpse and the temporary social isolation that it entailed, Teika's female relatives departed quickly. The work of preparing the body began. Teika shows his characteristic

concern for propriety by not observing his father's naked form, even in death. Most interestingly, he uses kana for phrases that he could easily have rendered in kanbun and which, unlike the instances above, were not transcriptions of his father's last conversations. Was Teika, writing this later the same day, too exhausted by his emotions, which were catching up with him? Does kanbun require a certain degree of emotional or cognitive reserve on the part of Japanese authors? I think so, but this remarkable passage is not sufficient in itself to prove this point. More convincing evidence may be found in another crucial portion of the *Meigetsuki,* written immediately after Teika took the Buddhist tonsure at the age of seventy-three and abandoned the life of a courtier, which had defined his identity for more than sixty years.

Teika took the final step in the tenth month of Tenpuku 1 (1233). He had completed editing and copying his collected poems, which suggests that this was a considered step. Some weeks earlier, Teika's daughters Yoriko and Kaori, both in their late thirties, had themselves taken holy orders after receiving their father's permission. Teika describes his own ordination in great detail in *Meigetsuki* in the entry for the tenth day. Toward the end of that entry, he suddenly switches to kana: "In the evening, heard of fire to the west, south of Kawadō [Gyōganji] and north of Ichijō."[56]

The next day's entry is also written in kana, as if perhaps Teika actually began writing in kana on the eleventh, completing the entry for the tenth with a piece of news that he had heard the previous night after writing in his diary. The entry for the twelfth reads:

> *12th. XX. Clear. Such a clamor of visitors I [had it] announced that I was out on a pilgrimage and did not open gate. Dharma Seal In'en, His Lordship the Minister of War, and the Supernumerary Master of the West Capital came to call at the gate. Did not see any of them.*

It was the custom for friends and acquaintances to visit and send letters to express their congratulations and good wishes at this major life transition, but Teika would have none of it. He must have been experiencing a feeling of profound shock and, perhaps, sadness at the realization that he had left his old life completely behind.

The use of kana continues for a third day, the thirteenth:

> *13th. XXI. Clear. Lord Yukiyoshi, Nagamasa, and Nagamitsu came again to visit. My pate being cold, I could not see them.*

> *Tomomune told me yesterday or today about Ankamon-in's prayer rites. Told Kenjaku to handle it. Last night Takatsugi brought an imperial edict regarding votive sūtras for the late Imperial Lady; Kenjaku will handle it as well.*

Although Teika was still refusing visitors, other social obligations could go neglected; he had a servant send offerings for various memorial rites being held for high-ranking ladies.

Midway through the entry, just after the passage translated above, the writing shifts again back to kanbun as Teika records the title of a sūtra he has been copying. (Sūtra titles could be transcribed in kana, but that would be needlessly cumbersome.) From then on, Teika writes in kanbun, and he mentions seeing visitors. It is as if the process of writing out the sūtra title has jolted him back into kanbun mode; perhaps it is even the case that Teika wrote the kana half of the entry first, copied a part of the sūtra, and then wrote the rest of the entry later that night; that is, the act of sūtra copying both reactivated his use of kanbun and soothed the shock of taking the tonsure.

When we read these entries against the entries describing the death of Shunzei discussed above, it does seem reasonable to claim that, even for a highly biliterate person like Teika, writing in kanbun required a degree of cognitive or emotional surplus whose temporary lack may have forced him to "revert" or "regress" into kana. We can add this emotional strain to the list of reasons Teika sometimes used kana, not kanbun, in the *Meigetsuki.*

China and *The Tale of Matsura*

Thus far we have considered through the *Meigetsuki* Teika's engagement with classical Chinese language and its literature. Teika's engagement with Chinese texts reaches a crescendo with *The Tale of Matsura* (*Matsura no miya monogatari*), a prose narrative that has been convincingly attributed to him, probably composed in the 1190s. Set in the distant past, when the capital was at Fujiwara (694–710), the tale follows a young courtier, Tachibana no Ujitada from Japan to China and back.

Evidence for authorship by Teika is limited to the following passage in *Mumyō zōshi* (Untitled Text), a discourse on *monogatari* that was written ca. 1200. The authorship of *Mumyō zōshi* itself is uncertain, but it is believed to have been written by Shunzei's daughter

(actually, his granddaughter; ca. 1171–1254). One passage reads, " 'The Minor Captain Teika appears to have written many novels, but they have only the outward appearance of novels and are quite devoid of realism. The poems of *Matsura no Miya* were composed after the fashion of *Man'yōshū,* while its plot tends to make me feel as if I am reading *Utsubo Monogatari.* Its style is too lofty to appeal to a talentless person like myself.' "[57] Despite the relative paucity of evidence for authorship by Teika, there is no serious doubt that he wrote the tale.[58]

Plot Summary

Before proceeding to an analysis of the tale, it is necessary first to review its charming and rather outlandish plot. Ujitada, son of a minister and a princess, is a talented prodigy who soon becomes a favorite of the emperor and embarks on a promising career at court. He falls in love with the alluring Princess Kannabi, but when the princess is summoned to attend the emperor, their relationship ends before it can be consummated. Heartbroken, Ujitada receives with mixed feelings an appointment as deputy ambassador of an official mission to China (called Tang after the dynasty, which was in place at the putative time of the text). His distraught mother has a residence built at Matsura in Kyushu, so she can wait there and greet him as soon as he returns to Japan. (It is this Matsura palace that gives the tale its name, although it does not play a significant role in the story.)

After arriving in China, Ujitada impresses his hosts with his talents and demeanor and soon becomes a favorite of the Chinese emperor. While residing at the capital of Chang-an, Ujitada goes out for a walk and meets a mysterious old man, who gives him secret instructions in playing the *qin* (seven-stringed Chinese koto). The old man tells him of a princess, the emperor's full sister, whom Ujitada must seek out for further instruction. Ujitada finds Princess Huayang, masters the secret tunes she teaches him, and falls deeply in love with her. But the princess declines to requite his feelings, instead promising to meet him again when he returns to Japan, and gives him a jewel as a keepsake.

The emperor dies, but not before asking Ujitada to protect his son, the Crown Prince, and the realm falls into chaos. Princess Huayang dies too, and the late emperor's younger brother, King Yan, attempts to usurp the throne. Ujitada joins the emperor's widow (the empress dowager), her young son (the new emperor), and their entourage as they flee the capital ahead of Yan's invading forces.

The empress dowager appeals to Ujitada for help. Although he has no military experience, he designs a successful ambush and is aided by nine uncannily identical warriors, sent by the Japanese god of Sumiyoshi. The rebels are routed and the imperial entourage returns to the capital. Ujitada falls in love with the resourceful empress dowager, who effectively rules the realm, but cannot act on his forbidden desires. He is appointed "dragon general" and rewarded richly for his service to the realm.

Once again, Ujitada goes out for a walk, and hears the haunting sound of the *hichiriki* flute. It is being played by a mysterious, beautiful, fragrant woman who closely resembles the empress dowager, and he spends the night with her. Thus begins a passionate love affair, but Ujitada never learns the woman's name, and she enters and leaves his quarters without notice and as if by magic.

Eventually, Ujitada must return to Japan. At their last meeting, the mystery woman shows Ujitada a peony as a clue to her identity. Sometime later, after the peonies are no longer in bloom, Ujitada has a private audience with the empress dowager. She shows him a fresh peony and reveals that both she and Ujitada are servants of the god Shakra who were sent to this world to battle an evil Ashura. Unable to control her feelings, she disguised herself as the mystery woman and engaged in an illicit affair with Ujitada secretly. The empress dowager gives Ujitada a box with a mirror inside and asks him to come back to China when she dies.

Ujitada returns safely to Japan and is reunited with his mother at Matsura. The Japanese emperor promotes him in rank, and Ujitada makes a pilgrimage to Hatsuse, as Princess Huayang instructed him. There he is miraculously reunited with the princess, who becomes pregnant. Ujitada opens the mirror in private and can see the empress dowager, whom he misses deeply. The princess catches a whiff of the empress dowager's fragrance and grows jealous, as Ujitada feebly denies that he is in love with another woman.

Framing Devices

Not only is *Matsura* set in the distant past; it is presented as a possibly true story that was recorded in an age long before Teika's own. The text contains two invented colophons. The first reads:

> This tale is about events that took place long ago, and, indeed, both the poetry and the language are pleasantly old-fashioned. Beginning with

> the flight to Mount Shu, however, the text appears to have been revised by some clever fellow of our own age and contains many unsightly passages. I wonder what the truth of the matter is. And when the grand lady of China speaks of drifting onto the path of dreams—what a charming tale within a tale it is!
>
> Jōgan 3 [861], Fourth Month, Eighteenth Day.
> Finished writing in the western wing of the Somedono Palace.
>
> She seems a flower, but is not; she seems a mist, but is not.
> In the deep of the night, she comes; as the heavens dawn, she departs.
> She comes like a spring night's dream, for but a fleeting moment;
> She departs like a morning cloud, leaving no trace to follow.[59]

This colophon suggests that the text was copied in the early Heian period, during the time of Narihira—in fact, the "western wing of the Somedono Palace" carries hints of the story of Narihira's illicit affair with the Nijō Consort, and thereby echoes the plot of Matsura. The poem quoted is an untitled Chinese verse by Bo Juyi.[60] It aptly recapitulates the dreamlike atmosphere of Ujitada's passionate encounters with the disguised empress dowager.

The second colophon is undated, and is written in the same arch tone, but as if by a later copyist:

> How true it is! But I am mystified why one so sober of heart—one who preferred not to meet beauty that can topple cities—would have left such a poem behind him. Or is it that in China a mist like this really does exist?[61]

This colophon addresses not the tale, but the poem by Bo Juyi, referring to a line in another of his poems, "Madame Li" (*Li furen*), in which he writes that "There is nothing better than never / encountering a beauty that can topple cities."[62]

Besides the colophons, there are invented lacunae. At two points in the narrative—once when Ujitada has his last audience with the empress dowager and again at the very end of the tale, the ostensible copyist remarks, "The manuscript states: 'the binding is damaged and some pages are missing' " and "The manuscript states: 'Here, too, the binding is damaged and the remaining pages have been lost.' "[63] Mysteriously, however, neither lacuna appears in the middle of a sentence, as one might expect. They seem to be expedient means of relieving the author of the burden of ending a scene or the tale itself. Such

attention to recreating the material aspects of an invented text are very much what we might expect from Teika, who showed a lifetime passion for obtaining, editing, and copying old texts, building over decades a massive trove of literary and historical information. *Matsura* is a highly readerly text with regard to its content, as well. The sections in which Ujitada learns secret koto melodies draw on *The Tale of the Hollow Tree* (*Utsuho monogatari,* late tenth century), and the entire tale, but especially the trip to China and the emphasis on reincarnation, relies heavily on *The Tale of the Hamamatsu Middle Counselor* (*Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari,* eleventh century).[64]

At various points the author winks at the reader, such as at the moment when the empress dowager composes a thirty-one-syllable waka that alludes to a verse in the *Man'yōshū,* prompting the narrator to comment, "However wise and knowledgeable the empress dowager was, how could she have been familiar with such poems from ancient Japan? Surely we must conclude that Ujitada misheard what she said."[65] These meta-moments, the bogus colophons, and the fake lacunae exhibit a sophisticated wit that contrasts effectively with the sober Ujitada and his intense love affairs.

Historical and Literary Models in the *Tale*

Besides these clever and intriguing lacunae, some other characteristics of the tale merit our attention. First is the nature of the protagonist, Ujitada. He is a familiar figure to readers of classical Japanese fiction: the young prodigy who, like Hikaru Genji, is handsome, sensitive, charming, and excels in an improbably broad range of artistic and scholarly activities. Like the Hamamatsu Middle Counselor of the eponymous tale, Ujitada is a devoted son and possesses an exceptional sense of propriety (which serves him well among the Chinese, who are portrayed as being punctilious regarding matters of etiquette). He should be regarded as an alter ego of Teika, an aspirational version of the author. Although Teika never traveled to China and his mother was not a princess, he resembled Ujitada in his especially close relationship with his mother and, perhaps, in a certain sense of sexual propriety or prudery.[66] Even at the level of naming, it is not difficult to grasp the similarities between the names Ujitada 氏忠 and Sadaie 定家 (the usual pronunciation of Teika's name in his own time). *Uji* 氏 'clan' and *ie* 家 'house' are near synonyms, while *tada* 忠 'loyalty' and *sada* 定 'establish' are rhymes. It is also possible that the differ-

ence between the ages of Ujitada's parents—his father is twelve years older than his mother—matches the differences between the ages of Teika's parents, and that Ujitada's parents are a younger, idealized version of Teika's parents around the time of his birth.[67] Finally, Ujitada also resembles various figures in Japanese historical literary texts who traveled to China and passed various tests of sensibility and learning, such as Abe no Nakamaro (698–770) and Kibi no Makibi (695–775).[68]

The second-most important character, the empress dowager, may also have some historical predecessors. In her flight from the capital, she resembles Yang Guifei, the "prized consort" of Emperor Xuanzong who fled Chang'an with him to escape the rebel forces of An Lushan. An earlier and closer model is Empress Deng Sui of the Han Dynasty. We know from the tale that the empress dowager was also surnamed Deng; like the historical empress, she was widowed and governed the realm effectively on behalf of her young son. In Teika's own time, the most prominent empress dowager was Kenreimon-in, daughter of Taira no Kiyomori, widow of Emperor Takakura, and the principal character of "The Initiate's Chapter," the final chapter of *Heike monogatari,* which presents Kenreimon-in as a kind of demigoddess. Takakura died when Teika was a young man (the emperor himself was quite young), leaving the latter distraught, just as Ujitada keenly mourns the loss of the Chinese emperor in *Matsura.*

The empress dowager's doppelgänger is clearly derived from a recurring figure in Chinese literature, the elusive supernatural succubus. Most prominently portrayed in the "Rhapsody on Gaotang" and the "Rhapsody on the Goddess," which appear side by side in the ancient Chinese collection *Wen xuan,* this figure may have also played a role in the construction of the ideals of *yōen* and *yūgen* in medieval Japanese poetics.[69] Indeed, at one point in *Matsura,* Ujitada asks the mystery woman, "Then are you the spirit of the clouds of Mount Wu, or a goddess from the river Hsiang come to bewitch me?"[70] Like the lacunae, this remark shows a metatextual awareness. With allusions to the rhapsodies, the author is signaling to the reader that he recognizes the highly derivative nature of his text. Curiously, it is precisely by acknowledging this textual overlap that he restores the narrative to plausibility. Fantastic plotlines tend to undercut realism, and heavy allusion draws attention to the artifice of literature. By acknowledging both aspects, Ujitada voices doubts that the reader might have and, in doing so, dispels them.

China in *The Tale of Matsura*

Overall, Matsura is a deeply Sinophilic text. Ujitada embarks on his journey to the continent with few preconceptions other than a general feeling of trepidation and reluctance to leave his parents behind. On the other hand, he knows that travel abroad may grant him some relief from the heartbreak he suffered at losing Princess Kannabi. Upon arriving at his destination, Ujitada is entranced: "All the sounds of this country were new and marvelous, from the manner of the people's speech to the songs of the birds in the trees. With everything so delightfully different from what he had been accustomed to in Japan, Ujitada was for a time distracted from his endless brooding over not knowing where the future would lead."[71] Difference delights Ujitada rather than disorienting him.

Not long after his arrival in Mingzhou (now Ningpo), Ujitada must pass the first of a series of tests that assess his cultural and social competences. The first is an exchange of Chinese poetry with his hosts. Ujitada and the ambassador "acquitted themselves most impressively [in exchanges of Chinese poetry] and the Chinese marveled that men of such remarkable learning could come from overseas. It was enough to convince them that Japan must indeed be a land of high cultural achievements."[72] This passage suggests a certain arrogance on the part of the Chinese hosts. Curiously, even though most of the tale is set in China, no Chinese poems are reproduced in the text; even the Chinese characters, such as the empress dowager, compose only waka.

Next, Ujitada is granted an audience with the Chinese emperor at the capital Chang'an, some days' journey northwestward toward the interior. Of course, he passes with flying colors: "Perhaps the people of Japan are more serious-minded than I thought, the emperor noted with approval. . . . Ujitada, for his part, knew how formal and particular the Chinese were about matters of decorum, and how heavy the penalty could be if he were guilty of even the slightest breach."[73] Numerous passages in *Meigetsuki* show that Teika was a stickler for protocol and etiquette. In the world conjured by him in *Matsura,* he creates a milieu in which his kind of knowledge and attitude was noticed and valued.

When Ujitada meets the aged *qin* master, he encounters the first of a series of characters who will cherish him and, in doing so, profess a degree of difference from their own countrymen in the special treatment they grant him. The general attitude on the part of the

Chinese toward foreigners is negative, but Ujitada repeatedly finds people who will break the rules out of consideration for his extraordinary personal qualities. When the *qin* master teaches Ujitada some secret melodies, he adds a warning: "Tell no one about this. The ways of our people may appear tolerant, but in fact are narrow; they may seem flexible, but in fact are rigidly set. Our rulers have expressly forbidden the teaching of such deep secrets to those from other lands."[74] Like Ujitada and, perhaps Teika himself, the *qin* master and other sympathetic characters are benevolent if snobbish internationalists. In their worldviews, class—marked by cultural knowledge and social behavior—trumps nationality and ethnicity.

Ujitada's first romantic interest is his second *qin* teacher, the beautiful Princess Huayang, who cannot sully the sacred ground of their lessons by consummating their love physically. Unlike the protagonist of *Hamamatsu,* who finds a half-Japanese lady and her attendants to be the most hospitable among all the women of the Chinese court, Ujitada exhibits a strong preference for the looks, dress, and manners of Chinese women. Of Huayang, he realizes that "back home he had thought no one could match the beauty of Princess Kannabi, who had so stirred his thought; now he could see that next to this lady she would be like the unkempt daughter of a provincial rustic."[75] The statement is exaggerated and the comparison unfair—after all, Huayang is no mere mortal. Nonetheless, this remark aptly captures the overcorrective, euphoric tone that one often experiences or witnesses in encounters with an unfamiliar but desired other.

After the deaths of the emperor and his sister, Princess Huayang, the bereft Ujitada eventually turns his attentions to the widowed empress dowager. When King Yan initiates his coup d'état, the empress dowager inexplicably asks for help from Ujitada, who has no military experience or acumen whatsoever, and says so. Yet she insists, telling him, "Among the lands of mighty warriors, Japan may be small, but I have heard that she enjoys the most resolute protection of the gods, and that her people are of great wisdom."[76] In fact, it is the god of Sumiyoshi that protects Ujitada and routs the rebel forces, just as Kibi no Makibi survived his trials in China through the aid of the ghost of one of his Japanese predecessors.

Out walking one evening, Ujitada hears *hichiriki* music that eventually leads him to the mystery woman. China is marked in multiple ways in the text, not least of them aurally through the *qin* and *hichiriki,* a flute that produces what many regard as an otherworldly,

haunting tone that is entirely appropriate in its association with the mystery woman. "To his ear came several strains of music. Could it be a *hichiriki?* he wondered. He had never found the tones of the instrument especially to his liking back home in Japan, but it sounded so different here, more beautiful than anything he had ever heard. It was, no doubt, an effect of the place he had come to."[77] Ujitada is beginning to understand that China is not only a place but a state of mind.

Upon meeting the mystery woman, Ujitada comes to believe that such an encounter would be impossible in Japan: "The wonderful perfume that came from within seemed somehow familiar to him, and Ujitada marveled that it was a remarkable land indeed where there could be another lady like the empress dowager in such a remote place."[78] Atsuko Sakaki rightly focuses on the key phrase *kuni no narai* "custom of the country" in this and other passages (Lammers's free translation omits the phrase here).[79] In this case the unusual "custom" is that a ravishing, highborn woman is playing a musical instrument in the middle of nowhere. This not a national custom but rather a literary one. Ujitada attributes it to Chinese ways because he is unaware that he is living in a Japanese *monogatari*.

Although Princess Huayang is compared favorably with Princess Kannabi as an exemplar of female beauty, Ujitada's relationship with the mystery woman permits some comparison between her and Huayang, allowing for a more complex portrayal. "His meeting with Princess Huayang had been like a meeting with the moon that courses the heavens: it had not seemed to be of this world," Ujitada thinks. "But the experienced and welcoming manner in which this lady responded to his advances suggested that she was most certainly of this world."[80] Like the bogus lacunae and some other offhand remarks dispersed throughout the text, this comment shows a certain dry wit on the part of the author. Although the text refrains from explicit description, it is implicitly clear that Ujitada and the mystery woman are engaged in a torrid love affair that is fully consummated. Ironically, both women are "not of this world," but Ujitada has a physical relationship only with the widowed empress dowager in her guise as the mystery woman. Not only is she sexually experienced but the lustful widow is a stock figure in world literature. "Empress dowager" may be the correct English equivalent of her title, but it misses something of the original. "Dowager" means "widow," whether childless or otherwise, but the original calls her *bokō* (or *hahakisaki*), "empress mother." She is

named not as a woman who lacks a husband but rather as one who has a child. That is to say, maternity and sexuality converge in her figure.

As mentioned above, Ujitada displays an awareness that the situation in which he finds himself—engaged in a love affair with a mysterious woman who comes and goes as she pleases—has textual antecedents. One of them is Song Yu's "Rhapsody on the Goddess," which appears in Book 19 of the *Wen xuan*. It reads, in part:

> My spirit felt befuddled and confused,
> As if something propitious had occurred.
> But I was perplexed and puzzled,
> And did not know what it meant.
> My eyes could only vaguely discern her,
> But I can recall my momentary impression.
> I saw a woman
> Unusual in appearance.
> Asleep, I dreamed of her;
> Awake, I cannot remember her form,
> And thus I felt depressed and unhappy,
> Sad and frustrated.[81]

While *Mumyō zōshi* notes Matsura's debt to *Utsuho* (which principally means the heavy emphasis in both tales on musical instruction in the *qin*), and previous scholarship has justly highlighted connections to *Hamamatsu,* it is not unreasonable to say that the tale's most influential textual predecessor is neither of these Japanese monogatari but rather the "Rhapsody on the Goddess" and the "Rhapsody on Gaotang."

Upon his return to Japan, Ujitada is of course glad to see his parents, especially his mother, but generally feels disappointed: "Now that he gazed once again upon the trees and grasses of the countryside, and listened to the calls of the birds, he found everything about his country and its ways to be embarrassingly inferior to what he had seen and heard in China."[82] From almost its beginning to its very end, *Matsura* is an exercise in admiration for China, or for a certain vision of it. It differs from *Utsuho* and *Hamamatsu* in the centrality of the China plot (in the other tales, the hero's journey to China and back is subordinate to the Japan-based events). It is also remarkable for its deep knowledge of Chinese texts, which it places either in the narrative

foreground (via explicit naming or quotation) or in the background (through allusion), but never in the middle ground (through didactic explication). Even though the Japanese scenes in *Matsura* bookend the China plot, they do not encapsulate or ensconce it. Huayang comes to Japan, Ujitada can view the empress dowager from Japan using his special mirror, and the two realms converge. Although *Matsura* is dutifully categorized by literary historians as belonging to the genre of pseudo-archaic narrative (*giko monogatari*), and the genre is generally described as a set of post-Genji narrative tales that are largely derivative, *Matsura* is an unusually erudite, witty, and alluring example of an early Japanese imagining of China.

Conclusions

There are two dominant models in the English-language scholarship that deals with visions of classical China in premodern Japan. The first is articulated by David Pollack in his monograph *The Fracture of Meaning*.[83] Drawing heavily on deconstructionist theories, Pollack claims, "The dissonances that resulted from the harnessing together of two forces as powerfully antagonistic to each other as we shall see Japanese matter and Chinese script to be created a primitive and almost geological strain that permanently fractured the surface of the entire semiotic field of culture."[84] Through readings of a chronologically and generically broad range of texts, including *Kojiki, Genji monogatari, Shin Kokinshū,* Zen poetry in Chinese, treatises on renga and noh, and Tokugawa *kokugaku* writings, Pollack argues for a fundamental fissure, or fracture, in Japanese brought about by the yoking of the Chinese writing system and the Japanese language. It is a ultimately a negative critique of the early Japanese adaptation of Chinese script, and Pollack concludes that the result was "a profound discomfort with *literacy* and its consequences for a people that, while highly and successfully involved with it, have from the beginning regarded it as an alien intrusion upon the native domain of oral expression."[85]

The other dominant model is Atsuko Sakaki's, and it appears in her monograph *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*. Sakaki's aim is to show there was an obsession with contrasting what was Japanese from what was Chinese.[86] Among the premodern texts she considers is the *Tale of Matsura*. Sakaki writes that "the story evolves around a clearly drawn distinction between China and Japan and occasionally portrays hostility, rivalry, and

confrontation."[87] Ultimately, however, the focus of Sakaki's study is modern Japanese literature, in particular the works of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō that deal with China, and so it is not surprising to find an emphasis on fetish and obsession in light of the prominent role that these tendencies play in Tanizaki's work.

In contrast, this chapter has discussed only a selection of texts composed by a single author that engage the classical Chinese tradition, and therefore cannot match the scope of the far more comprehensive studies of Pollack and Sakaki. Nevertheless, it should be clear from the readings presented above that one does not readily discern a fracture of meaning or an obsession with the Sino-Japanese polarity in Teika's texts. To the contrary, Teika appears to have digested classical Chinese literary and historical texts through decades of diligent study, increasing his reading proficiency and knowledge, likely thanks to his contacts with the Kujō family, who were renowned for their erudition. For Teika's case at least (and at most; I am not making any claims beyond the texts that I have discussed), the antagonism and anxiety implied by the fracture of meaning do not hold. Moreover, although the protagonist of *Matsura* does seem to fetishize China (especially Chinese women), it could also be argued that the tale is equally a fetishization of the supernatural (both of Ujitada's loves are originally from another other world beyond China) and that, by having Ujitada marry Princess Huayang in Japan at the end of the tale, the author naturalizes and absorbs China, bringing an end to whatever patterns of fetishization and obsession may have been present earlier in the tale.

In my understanding of Teika's negotiation with classical Japanese texts, there obtains a kind of textual spectrum, with waka poetry, for example, on one end, and orthodox Chinese poetry and prose, on the other. (The use of lexical items derived from Chinese was generally prohibited in waka.) Between the two lay a range of linguistic registers, among them the mixed Japanese-Chinese style (*wakan konkōbun*) that we see in contemporaneous texts such as *Hōjōki,* and in later texts such as *Heike monogatari* and *Tsurezuregusa*. This style is the foundation of modern Japanese. If we locate this mixed style more or less in the middle of the spectrum, we might locate kana literature (largely written using vernacular script, vocabulary, and grammar) between it and waka. Classic texts such as *Ise monogatari, Tosa nikki,* and the *Tale of Genji* would belong in this zone. Between the mixed style and orthodox Chinese literature would lie variant (*hentai*)

kanbun, or classical Japanese encoded into the classical Chinese writing system, but retaining characteristically Japanese lexical items and grammatical patterns. (Variant kanbun, like other zones of this spectrum, itself constitutes a spectrum according to its conformity with classical Chinese linguistic patterns; the kanbun used by Teika in *Meigetsuki* is relatively orthodox, while that used by Fujiwara no Michinaga in his diary, *Midō kanpaku ki,* is considerably less so.) Teika, for his part, was conversant in every sector of this spectrum; he could read texts located on any point of it. While it might have been impossible for him to compose completely orthodox Chinese poetry and prose, he was a consummate master of the other end of the spectrum, the waka poem. In his daily life, however, Teika operated in all these textual zones, whether reading, composing, or copying official documents, kanbun diaries, waka poetry, personal letters, *monogatari,* sūtras, and so forth.

In a similar way, it is difficult to see Teika's reading of Chinese texts as evidence of an obsession with the differences between Chinese and Japanese formations of culture. Judging by what we see in the *Meigetsuki,* Teika's historical vision juxtaposed ancient China against his own time. He saw, in the disorder and corruption of his own age, echoes and hints of the more tumultuous periods of earlier Chinese history, especially the late Tang of Bo Juyi, his favorite Chinese poet. Chinese poetry was an important literary resource to him, and although it differs significantly from waka in the use of rhyme, length of verses, subject matter, and other aspects, one does not get the sense that Teika regarded Chinese poetry as a fully foreign language. He was biliterate, but the second language was deeply embedded in the writing system of his own language, somewhat akin to the relationship between an English speaker and classical Latin, a comparison that has been frequently noted in previous scholarship. One does not speak Latin; one reads it. And Latin is both familiar and unfamiliar. Over time and with daily use, however, Latin can be more or less absorbed and naturalized, at least at the level of the written language.

Finally, it is worth recalling that the intertextual relationship between premodern China and Japan was asymmetrical. Almost exclusively, it was Japanese readers who consumed Chinese texts and adopted Chinese ways, not the other way around. Moreover, this relationship was mediated by Japanese Sinologues—scholars, courtiers, poets, clerics, and others who possessed various degrees of proficiency in reading classical Chinese and various levels of understand-

ing of Chinese cultural, social, religious, and philosophical systems. For example, Satō Tsuneo has shown how the phrase *munashiki eda* (empty bough) passed from Chinese poetic discourse into the waka lexicon via the mediation of Japanese kanshi poets, not, as we might expect, through direct reading of Chinese texts by the waka poets who used the phrase.[88]

It was these mediators who "interpreted" China for their compatriots. Families such as the Sugawara and Ōe established famous hereditary Sinological lineages, but there were many more people unaffiliated with them who did similar work. Although Teika was not born into such a lineage, he had the good fortune to gain the early patronage of the Kujō family through his father's relationship with them. Although the Kujō were a family of regents, not scholars, through them, Teika, too, became a mediator of the Chinese-Japanese textual relationship. Among other things, he tutored his son in the *Wen Xuan,* consulted with court officials on choosing new reign names from the Chinese classics, and composed *The Tale of Matsura.* Although Teika was most at home on the vernacular end of the Sino-Japanese textual spectrum, his writings span the entire range of it, and his oeuvre is inconceivable and inapproachable without a consideration of his frequent and fruitful forays in reading Chinese text, writing kanbun, and imagining China in various linguistic registers.

Chapter Five

Teika after Teika

A History of Reception

The field of classical Japanese literature possesses a long and rich tradition of reading and interpretation, especially surrounding the *Man'yōshū,* which has been the subject of philological analysis for almost 750 years.[1] *The Tale of Genji* too has been subjected to centuries of study, conjecture, and analysis. Reception history, however, is the study of these traditions of reading, and has only recently begun to be taken up as an avenue of inquiry by scholars of classical Japanese literature, who tend to adopt new methods much later than their counterparts in other literatures and even scholars of modern Japanese literature. Among English-language studies, the most significant contribution to the reception history of classical Japanese literature to date has been the multiauthored volume *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature,* edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki.[2] Besides examining the diverse ways in which various works from the premodern period have been read over time, the volume considers the process of canon formation. Other important works include studies by Richard Bowring on *The Tales of Ise,* Joshua Mostow on *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (which includes a consideration of the reception of the anthology through visual depiction), and Anne Commons on the poetry and biography of Hitomaro.[3]

In this chapter, I present and analyze a chronological survey of the history of reception of Teika's works in various genres: mainly poetry and poetics, but also the *Meigetsuki* and, as a separate but overlapping genre, his calligraphy. The survey begins in Teika's lifetime with accounts left by those who personally knew him and ends in the

mid-eighteenth century. There is a fair amount of previous research on this topic, most notably a number of chapters in Yasuda Ayao's *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū* and the exhibition catalog *Teika-yō*.[4] This earlier scholarship tends to focus on a single genre or a single period, but my hope is to show continuities and changes in how readers read and regarded Teika across time and genre.

Views of Teika and His Works Recorded in His Own Lifetime

The title of this chapter notwithstanding, it seems best to begin the analysis of the history of Teika's reception with remarks made while he was still alive by persons who knew him personally. The evaluation of Teika begins early in his life, with his inclusion by his father Shunzei of several of his poems in the *Senzaishū*. By the late twelfth century, waka poets firmly understood that inclusion in an imperial anthology guaranteed them a certain degree of permanence in the textual tradition and in historical memory, as they themselves were still reading—indeed, memorizing—the *Kokinshū* three centuries after its compilation. The inclusion of Teika in numerous important poetry contests as participant and judge; his appointment as a member of the Poetry Bureau and as co-compiler of the *Shin Kokinshū;* his tutelage of Kujō Yoshitsune, Retired Emperor Go-Toba, the shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo, and other illustrious personages of his day; and his appointment as solo compiler of the *Shin chokusenshū* are all implicit evidence of the generally high regard in which his poetic abilities were held by a variety of patrons and experts across the span of his entire lifetime.

With regard to explicit statements, however, one of the earliest and most fruitful examples is the text now known as *Retired Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings* (*Go-Toba-in gokuden,* or *Go-Toba-in onkuden;* ca. 1221–1239). It appears to have been written while Go-Toba was in exile on Oki after the Jōkyū Disturbance and is written in the manner of a letter to a young poet, giving advice on practical matters of composition, such as addressing assigned topics and using foundation poems.

Although the text does not seem to have been circulated widely and it is difficult to gauge its influence, it deserves our attention for the way in which Go-Toba's obsession with Teika permeates and, ultimately, topples his text. After some prefatory remarks and an

elucidation of seven principles of waka composition meant to aid the novice versifier, Go-Toba embarks on an evaluation of fifteen poets, concluding with Teika. The discussion of Teika is equal in length to the amount of space Go-Toba devotes to the other fourteen other poets combined. Whether Go-Toba initially set out to attack Teika, and attempted to veil his attack in the guise of advice to a third party, or his subconscious resentment of Teika simply got the best of him along the way is impossible to ascertain. While Go-Toba writhed at Oki, Teika was reaping the greatest honors of his career, reaching a court rank higher than his father had been awarded in his lifetime, and finally being appointed solo compiler of an imperial waka anthology, matching his father's hitherto unprecedented achievement. Teika was related by marriage to the Saionji family, allies of the shogunate; in fact, his wife's brother Saionji Kintsune was detained by Go-Toba during the Jōkyū War and came close to being executed. Poetics aside, Go-Toba had political reasons for resenting Teika and his successes; the inevitable omission of the poetry of Go-Toba and his sons from the *Shin chokusenshū* might have deepened Go-Toba's grudge against Teika, although it is not known whether *Go-Toba-in gokuden* was written after the anthology was compiled.

Go-Toba's first mention of Teika actually occurs in the course of the elaboration of his seven principles. The fifth item concerns handling assigned topics, and he claims that Teika "has paid scant attention to the topic. As a result, in recent times even beginners have all come to be like this."[5] This criticism seems unusual in light of the emphasis Teika placed on responding directly to the topic in his letter to Fujiwara no Nagatsuna, discussed above. On the other hand, Teika did exhibit a penchant for the oblique in his verse. For example, in the round of *Roppyakuban utaawase* devoted to the topic "Waiting for a lover" (*matsu koi*), only Jien and Teika's poems eschew the explicit verbal cues "wait" (*matsu*), "expect" (*tanomu*), and "does not come" (*konu*). Teika's verse cannot be called off topic, but it hints at the topic rather than responding to it directly:

kaze araki / motoara no kohagi / sode ni mite /
fukeyuku yowa ni / omoru shiratsuyu[6]
Blown by rough winds,
the sparse bush clover
appears on my sleeve

and as the night progresses
the white dew grows heavy.

In this poem, which is written in a woman's voice as convention demanded of this topic, the only clue that the poem has to do with waiting for a lover is that the speaker is weeping (itself only hinted at by the image reflected on her sleeve, suggesting a reflection in a teardrop, and slightly corroborated by the dew) and that the night is growing late. Yet this is hardly the sort of "abuse" of the topic that we saw earlier in *Nagatsuna hyakushu*.

Go-Toba later turns to individual poets, averring that "the styles of poetry are like the human face: each individual has his own, different from the rest."[7] Declaring first that he will remark on "some of the most accomplished poets of recent times," he begins quite early, with two sentences on Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016–1097), and then turns to his son Toshiyori (also called Shunrai, 1055?–1129?). Toshiyori composed mainly "in a style of elegant beauty and gentle simplicity. At the same time, he composed in a polished, ingenious style which other people could never hope to emulate." Then, although the lifetimes of the two poets never overlapped, Go-Toba uses the discussion of Shunrai's poetry to criticize Teika. He continues, "At the same time, he composed in a polished, ingenious style of which Lord Teika thinks so highly. This is the style:

ukarikeru / hito o Hatsuse no / yamaoroshi yo /
hageshikare to wa / inoranu mono o
Her cold disfavor
Blows like the storm that rages down
From the mountain of Hatsuse,
Although my prayer at that sacred shrine
Was not that her cruelty be increased!"[8]

Indeed, Teika included this poem in both versions of *Kindai shūka* (the one sent to Sanetomo and a revised version, extant in autograph form, retained and recopied by Teika). It also appears in *Ogura hyakunin isshu,* although whether Teika compiled that anthology is not certain, as discussed earlier.

Go-Toba then cites another poem by Toshiyori, as an example of his style of "elegant beauty":

uzura naku / Mano no irie no / hamakaze ni /
obananami yoru / aki no yūgure
At the Cove of Mano,
Where the quail raise their plaintive cry,
The wind along the shore
Swells the tassels of the plume grass
In waves of deepening autumn dusk.[9]

Go-Toba recalls Shunzei saying that a poem like this one was (contrary to expectation) difficult to write, implicitly using the father's words to criticize the son. The poem that Teika supposedly preferred (and which Shunzei himself deemed worthy of inclusion in the *Senzaishū*) is more linguistically complex, inserting the vocative "O mountain storm of Hatsuse" (*Hatsuse no yamaoroshi yo*) in the middle of an utterance addressed to the storm, rather than placing the vocative at the beginning or end, which would be more typical. It is clear that Go-Toba preferred the latter style in its serene pathos, and tried to summon the late Shunzei to his cause. This is significant not only in terms of understanding the aesthetic differences between Go-Toba and Teika but also, as we shall see, because Teika's heirs differed over his legacy. One may be inclined to think that Teika's innovative style had been rehabilitated and redeemed permanently after *Roppyakuban utaawase* and the *Shin Kokinshū,* but after his death his descendants took opposing views of it. In general, the Reizei and Kyōgoku lines embraced Teika's style, while the Nijō actually seemed to prefer the more placid poetry of his son Tameie. We can see a similar rift in Go-Toba's reading of Tsunenobu.

Go-Toba seems to present his poems in three groups. The first group of poets belonged to previous generations: Tsunenobu, Toshiyori, Shunzei, Saigyō, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–1177) of the Rokujō family, and Shunrai's son Shun'e (1113–1190?). There are six of them, and it is not difficult to imagine that Go-Toba chose six poets from this group on purpose, to imagine them as the Six Poetic Immortals (*rokkasen*) of recent times. The second group includes three poets of the current generation—Princess Shokushi, Kujō Yoshitsune, and Jien—whose imperial or elite aristocratic backgrounds separate them from the rest. The third group, which Go-Toba explicitly presents separately, is also composed of six poets: Jakuren, Ietaka, Masatsune, Hideyoshi (a confidant of Go-Toba's and somewhat out of his

league in this company), the court lady Tango no Tsubone (d. 1216), and Teika, whom Go-Toba leaves for last.

"Teika is in a class by himself," Go-Toba begins. "When one remembers that he thought even the poems of his father, who was such a superior poet, to be shallow affairs, it should be clear that he did not consider it worth his while to bother with the poems of other people." There is no extant record of Teika criticizing Shunzei's poetry, which is almost unthinkable, but it is also not hard to see that Teika and Shunzei had somewhat different views toward poetry. For Teika, a poem should be interesting (*omoshiroshi*) and novel (*mezurashi*); Shunzei, on the other hand, seemed to demand that a poem should first possess gentleness (*yū*) and charm (*en*). Yet Shunzei's poetics was the foundation on which Teika constructed his own, and in his judgments of *Roppyakuban utaawase,* Shunzei consistently rejected attempts to portray Teika's poems as incomprehensible. He did not write like Teika, but he understood him.

Some of Go-Toba's criticisms, however, hit the mark. Teika, he says, "was incapable of a relaxed, casual attitude toward poetry, he would scowl angrily even when people praised one of his poems, if it happened to be one of which he was not particularly proud."[10] He cites and discusses at length a poem by Teika that Go-Toba liked but Teika did not, and recounts Teika's displeasure when the poem was included in the *Shin Kokinshū.*[11] Go-Toba also discusses another poem that figured in the opposite scenario—it was composed by Teika for Go-Toba's Saishōshitennō-in project, but passed over in favor of a poem by Jien. To his credit, Go-Toba realizes and admits in retrospect that Teika's was the superior poem, but Teika's stubborn abrasiveness still grates on him years later. For Go-Toba, social considerations were paramount, and poetry should never get in the way of relationships between people.

As we have seen, Go-Toba presents a vivid and somewhat persuasive portrait of Teika, in spite of the obvious grudge he bore against him. It is an intriguing mixture of resentment, admiration, apt criticism, and potential slander. He tempers his admiration with a warning that will be repeated by later commentators on Teika's verse:

> Although Lord Teika's poetic manner is employed by him with splendid results, it should not, as a general rule, be taken as a model by others. He is not fond of the effect known as the "style of intense feeling."

> Rather, he has as his fundamental style a rich evocativeness of diction and gentle elegance of total effect. If a beginner should seek to emulate this style before his own personal manner and poetic control had become fully established, he would be bound to deviate from the mainstream of acceptable poetic composition.[12]

Given the association of Teika's late poetry and poetics with the "style of intense feeling" (*kokoro aru yō* or, more commonly, *ushintei*), it is surprising to hear Go-Toba say that Teika "was not fond" of it (*shoki sezu*). This style is not easily defined, but it appears to entail relatively uncomplicated language and sincere statement. For the most part, it has become associated with Teika by dint of the emphasis put on it in *Maigetsushō,* so Go-Toba's statement that Teika was averse to the style of intense feeling further weakens claims that the *Maigetsushō* was written by Teika.

As the text ends, Go-Toba demonstrates his mastery of the left-handed compliment. Having discussed at length the poem by Teika that he erroneously rejected in favor of Jien's verse, he praises the "lovely cadences of its flowing diction" and concludes, "People who know little about the art of poetry would utterly fail to appreciate such a poem. As a consequence, relatively few of Lord Teika's poems are universal favorites, their superiority acknowledged by all. And if this does occasionally happen, it is not with the concurrence of the poet himself."[13] Teika is a virtuoso, but he cannot be appreciated (in his youth, the charge was that he could not even be understood). Go-Toba goes on to praise Shunzei and Saigyō for "deep feeling and a sense of conviction" (*kokoro ga koto ni fukaku, iware mo aru*). This is consistent with the *ushintei.* The next line is very intriguing: "In general, although a poem may be somewhat *flat and obvious*, in my humble opinion it is good if it is good of its kind." (*Ōyoso* kenshū *nari to mo, yoki wa yoku gui ni wa oboyuru aida.*)[14] Robert Brower's translation follows Hisamatsu Sen'ichi's annotation of the term *kenshū,* which appears in the base text as 顕宗 ('exoteric school'). Hisamatsu reads it as a miswriting of *kenshō* 顕証 ('clear, readily apparent'). But should we be so quick to say that the text is incorrect, since Teika and Jien used the opposite term *misshū* 密宗 ('esoteric school') in describing their own poetry and defending against the *daruma-uta* sobriquet? Perhaps the *kenshū/misshū* distinction circulated more widely than the two of them. Indeed, as we have seen, Teika mobilized the set of terms in his commentary on the *Kokinshū, Kenchū mikkan* 顕注密勘 (1221), which

is actually a meta-commentary, a commentary on Kenshō's *Kokinshū* commentary. The title might be translated as "Exoteric commentaries and esoteric inquiries," but the character *ken* 顕 is also the first character of Kenshō's priestly name; Teika puns on it, implicitly positioning himself as the possessor of esoteric, and therefore superior, knowledge of the *Kokinshū*. We lack an autograph version of Go-Toba's text, so it is impossible to say for certain what he had in mind.

In *Retired Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings* we see, through the eyes of someone who knew Teika well, some themes that will recur later. Teika was intensely devoted to his art; he wrote in a richly evocative, linguistically complex, difficult style; his skill put him in a class by himself in his own generation, beyond the range of even such masterful poets as Ietaka, Yoshitsune, and Jien. He was one of a kind, someone who must not and could not be imitated.

Another Contemporary View: Kenreimon-in Ukyō no Daibu

A more charitable view of Teika as a social being appears at the very end of a collection of poems by a court lady who had once served Empress Kenreimon-in, Ukyō no Daibu (ca. 1157–ca. 1233). She had once been loved by Taira no Sukemori (1158–1185?), who died in battle at Dan-no-ura; after the war, she was taken into the service of Go-Toba.[15]

> In the afterword to her personal collection, Ukyō no Daibu writes:
> After I grew old, Sadaie, the Lord of Civil Affairs, was collecting waka, and he inquired whether I had anything written down. I felt grateful simply to have been remembered and addressed as a poet. When he asked, thoughtfully, under which name I should like to be listed, I was deeply touched. Since I still found it impossible to forget the bygone days, I wrote "Just as back then" and added this poem:
>
> *koto no ha no / moshi yo ni chiraba / shinobashiki /*
> *mukashi no na koso / tomemahoshikere*
> If these words
> are to scatter in the world
> then I would like to leave behind
> the name I once had
> back in the times I recall fondly.

He replied:

> *onajiku wa / kokoro tomekeru / inishie no /*
> *sono na wo sara ni / yoyo ni nokosamu*
> If it is all the same to you
> then your name from the old days
> that linger in your heart
> is the one that you will leave behind
> for generations to come.
>
> I was delighted.[16]

This remark refers to Teika's compilation of the *Shin chokusenshū* in the early 1230s, and shows a side of Teika's personality not often seen, and certainly not mentioned in Go-Toba's text. It is a thoughtful and loyal gesture. Teika made good on his promise and included two of her poems in the anthology, under her old name, Ukyō no Daibu.[17]

Late Kamakura/Nanbokuchō Period (ca. 1250–1400)

Between Teika's death in 1241 and the early fifteenth century, there are not many extant texts that discuss him, and those that do are difficult to date. The collection of anecdotes *Jikkinshō* (1252) hails Teika and Ietaka, who had recently died, as the best poets of their generation:

> Among the best poets of recent times, there were Teika, the Lord of Civil Affairs, and Ietaka, the Lord of Palace Affairs, mentioned as a pair. At the time, there were many who engaged [in writing waka] with hopes of joining their ranks, but none could match these two.
>
> Once the Go-Kyōgoku Regent [Yoshitsune] summoned the Lord of Palace Affairs and asked him, "Of the many renowned poets of this generation, who is the finest? Tell me precisely what you think."
>
> "That would be most difficult to discern," he demurred, but the regent pressed him intensely. And so, when he eventually took his leave, he let drop a piece of folded paper from his breast. The regent read it, and it said:
>
> *akeba mata / aki no nakaba mo / suginubeshi /*
> *katabuku tsuki no / oshiki nomi ka wa*

> When day breaks
> autumn will be more
> than halfway gone.
> Does one mourn only
> the sinking moon?
>
> This is a poem by the Lord of Civil Affairs. How did he know that he would be asked such a question? It seems as if he had admired the poem, written it down, and brought it with him.
> These are examples of great forethought.[18]

Although the anecdote begins by setting Teika and Ietaka on an equal plane, and its point is ostensibly to show Ietaka's sagacity, both claims are undercut by the story and the editor's commentary. Ietaka implicitly admits that Teika is the better poet (although it would be unthinkable for him to propose himself) and the editor doubts whether Ietaka really anticipated such a question; he must have had a genuine admiration for this poem.

The *akeba mata* poem recurs multiple times in the process of Teika's canonization, so it is worth discussing the circumstances of its production. It was composed for an event held in Kenkyū 1 (1190) on the thirteenth night of the ninth month (the *jūsan'ya,* an alternative to the most famous full moon of the year, the fifteenth night of the eighth month). Several poets, including the sponsor, Yoshitsune, submitted hundred-poem sequences composed of fifty poems on flowers and fifty on the moon.[19]

Teika's verse is set on the other *meigetsu* ("famous moon"), the fifteenth night of the eighth month, and the precise middle of autumn, which spans the seventh through ninth months of the lunar calendar. After the moon sets and the sun rises, not only will the moon be gone but autumn will be closer to its end than to its beginning. Even more importantly, the speaker seems to hint at a re-recognition of his own mortality; the end of an evening and the turn of the seasons brings him nearer to old age and to death.

"Akeba mata" was not selected for the *Shin kokinshū,* but Teika thought sufficiently highly of it to include it in his personal solo poetry contest and in the *Shin chokusenshū.* It might be adduced as evidence of his later preference for the *ushin* style; although he was only thirty years old when he wrote it, it was one of only fifteen of his own poems that he included in *Shin chokusenshū,* and both that collection

and his solo poetry contest were produced relatively late in life. Unlike much of his other poems, it does not employ *honka-dori* and therefore does not require a knowledge of the poetic canon to understand it; nor is the syntax particularly complex; in fact, it is exceptionally straightforward. We will see not only this poem being cited as exemplary, but that other poems held up as models of Teika's style tend to be just as simple to understand (to be sure, perhaps deceptively so), and could never be included among the *daruma-uta*.

A slightly longer version of the tale appears in the anecdote collection *Ima monogatari* (compiled after 1239).[20] In that telling, after Ietaka visits Yoshitsune, the regent summons Teika, and puts to him the same question. Shunning Ietaka's coyness, Teika responds by reciting, in a loud voice, this poem by Ietaka:

> *kasasagi no / watasu ya izuko / yūshimo no /*
> *kumoi ni shiroki / mine no kakehashi*[21]
> Where is the one
> that the magpies built?
> The palace grounds
> in evening frost, a rope bridge
> between white peaks.

Ietaka's verse is an allusive variation on a poem by Ōtomo no Yakamochi:

> *kasasagi no / wataseru hashi ni / oku shimo no /*
> *shiroki o mireba / yo zo fukenikeru*[22]
> I can see
> the whiteness of the frost
> on the bridge
> that the magpies built
> and the night is late.

His conceit yokes the Tanabata legend, in which magpies form a bridge across the heavens once a year so that the star-crossed Weaver Girl and Herd Boy may meet, and the traditional conception of the imperial palace compound as heaven itself, located "above the clouds" (*kumo no ue*). In Ietaka's verse, the famous bridge is covered so deeply in frost that it looks like a rope bridge between two snow-covered mountains in winter.

Ietaka's poem leans heavily on the allusion to Yakamochi's poem, while Teika's, like some of his other famous poems (for example, "miwataseba," "haru no yo," "koma tomete," "konu hito o"), may be understood without knowledge of an allusion, even if one exists. The excision of Teika's response from this anecdote in the *Jikkinshō* version may simply have been motivated by the author's emphasis on the importance of forethought (Teika's less dramatic retort required no advance preparation). It seems more probable, however, that the dependence of Ietaka's poem on allusion made it less palatable to a general audience, or that Teika was already eclipsing Ietaka as a paragon of poetry around this time.

The *usagi* Forgeries

For better or worse, one of the most influential forces in the reception of Teika and his texts is a complex of four treatises on waka known as the *usagi* (cormorant and heron) forgeries. These texts are believed to have been composed around the turn of the fourteenth century by various persons associated with Teika's descendants, who falsely attributed them to Teika. They do, however, show a fair knowledge of waka and waka poetics. They quote and refer to one another and to other texts attributed to Teika, including *Maigetsushō*. Although the *usagi* treatises were correctly identified as forgeries by some writers already in the medieval period, they were regarded as authentic by a number of influential poets and playwrights who left treatises of their own, including Shōtetsu, Shinkei, Zeami, and Zenchiku.

Four texts comprise this group:

1. *Kirihioke* (The paulownia brazier). Colophon signed "Myōjō" (Teika's Buddhist name), dated Katei 3 (1237).[23]
2. *Guhishō* (Excerpts of my foolish secrets). Part I bears the subtitle *U no moto* (Root of the Cormorant); Part II, *U no sue* (Branchtips of the Cormorant). Colophon signed "The Former Supernumerary Counselor Lord Fujiwara" (that is, Teika), dated Kenpo 5 (1217) at Sumiyoshi Shrine.[24]
3. *Sangoki* (Chronicle of the Fifteenth [Night]). Part I bears the subtitle *Sagi no moto* (Root of the Heron); Part II, *Sagi no sue* (Branchtips of the Heron). Each part has a separate colophon; in both cases, the first line is signed "The Aged Lord Fujiwara no Sadaie" and dated Kenpō 5 (1217). The signatures of Tameie

(1247), his son Nijō Tameuji (1269), and Tameuji's son Tamezane (1294–1295) follow.[25]

4. *Gukenshō* (Excerpts of my foolish views). Colophon signed "The Aged Lord Fujiwara no Sadaie" and dated Kenpō 4 (1216).[26]

Even from these concocted colophons we can glean some information. The last three texts give the date of Teika's writing as 1216 or 1217, suggesting that they may have been composed or presented as a group. Only *Guhishō* and *Sangoki* carry the cormorant and heron subtitles, so they may have been especially closely connected. In particular, the signatures of the *Sangoki* colophon are particularly informative for their inclusion of Tamezane: Teika, Tameie, and Tameuji were all designated heirs, but Tamezane was not; Tameuji's heir was his first son, Tameyo. This suggests that Tamezane, Tameuji's second son, may have written *Sangoki* no later than 1294, the year that the *Sangoki* colophon says he "copied out" the text, and that he falsely presented his text as having been received from Teika via his father and grandfather. Because *Sangoki* and *Guhishō,* if not *Gukenshō,* may have been related, Tamezane may have composed all three of these texts but this is not certain.

The texts also vouch for one another through cross-citation. A line in the *Gukenshō* says that the ten styles of Chinese and Japanese poetry have already been discussed in *Sangoki,* although it is possible that a different text by the same title is intended. In another section, the *Gukenshō* author discusses a type of exemplary waka that Shunzei is said to have called "Paulownia brazier poems" (*Kirihioke no uta*), indicating perhaps that *Kirihioke* had already been composed by this time, even though it bears a later date.[27] At the beginning of *Kirihioke,* pseudo-Teika says that he has already covered the essential points of the art of poetry in both parts of the Cormorant (*u no motosue*), that is, *Guhishō.*[28] We cannot rule out the possibility that the author or authors of these texts were referring to texts that had not yet been written. Nonetheless, if the mention of a text indicates that it had already been composed, and if the texts mentioned are the texts currently known as the four *usagi* texts, then a possible order of composition would be *Guhishō, Kirihioke,* and *Gukenshō,* with *Sangoki* composed at some point before *Gukenshō.*

The content of these texts is impressively diverse. *Kirihioke* derives its name from an anecdote, probably concocted, about Shunzei.

When he heard an especially good waka, he called it a "poem for the paulownia brazier." On cold nights, Shunzei would turn his lamp to the wall, dimming its light, dress himself in only an old white robe smudged by soot, and cover himself with a quilt. Under the quilt was a small brazier made of paulownia wood, around which Shunzei would wrap his arms, leaning his elbows on the rim. Sitting on the floor alone, he would chant poems in a low voice and compose verses of his own.[29]

The rest of the treatise ranges almost at random, discussing *Man'yōshū,* various exemplary poems from the past to the present day, and strategies for composing hundred-poem sequences. Treatment of the last topic sounds very similar to Tameie's remarks on the same subject in his treatise *Eiga no ittei.*[30] Toward the end of *Kirihioke,* the author launches into a digression on various obscure lexical items in the *Kokinshū* that would later form part of the corpus of esoteric knowledge known as the "transmitted teachings on the *Kokinshū*" (*Kokin denju*). The topic is covered again in Part II of *Guhishō.*

Both *Guhishō* and *Sangoki* discuss the ten styles in detail, which somewhat bolsters their pairing as the cormorant and heron texts. Eighteen substyles are appended to the ten styles; consistently, the *ushintei* is designated as the essence of waka composition. Other topics addressed by the *usagi* treatises include an explication of the Six Poetic Modes (*rikugi*) and an adaptation of five elements theory (earth, wind, fire, wind, and space) to the five lines of a waka poem (*Sangoki,* Part II); a collection of charming anecdotes about poets who regarded the art of poetry with the utmost seriousness (*Guhishō,* Part II), and the relationship between the ideal of *yūgen* and the "Rhapsody on the Gaotang Terrace" from the *Wen xuan* (*Gukenshō*).

Although Teika was regarded highly enough to be used as the putative author of these treatises, thereby investing their content with authority, he plays a curiously small role in these texts. In many cases, pseudo-Teika merely repeats the teachings that he has received from Shunzei (to whom the author piously refers as "His Lordship my late father" [*bōfukyō*], a distinctive phrasing) and Shunzei's teacher, Mototoshi. He professes great praise for the poetry of Sanetomo, whom he ranks alongside Hitomaro and Akahito.[31] As for Teika's own poems, the literary self-portrait advanced by these texts is almost unrecognizable. Gone is the intense young man who fused old poetry with a new sensibility in the *Shin kokinshū.* The poems by Teika that are quoted (sometimes inaccurately) tend to be bland and nonallusive,

often coming from the latter pages of *Shūi gusō,* not his best works. This poem is quoted as one that pseudo-Teika thought especially good:

> *Ogurayama / shigururu koro no / asana asana /*
> *kinō wa usuki / yomo no momijiba*[32]
> Mount Ogura—
> every morning in the season
> of chilly rains,
> it seems all the colored leaves
> were paler the day before.

It requires no knowledge of the *sandaishū* or other works, asks very little else of the reader, and gives little in return. Of Teika's descendants, the Nijō are associated with a bland style inherited from Tameie, and the vision of Teika and of waka in general that we see in the *usagi* treatises is certainly consistent with attribution to a member of the Nijō school, whether Tamezane or another person. Moreover, the *usagi* treatises were generally rejected as forgeries by members of the Nijō school and regarded as credible by members of the Reizei school, including heirs of the Reizei family. Complicated theories were put forward in the medieval period to explain this, erroneously connecting the forgeries to the long lawsuit between the Nijō and Reizei over Tameie's land rights, but a simpler and more plausible explanation is that the *usagi* treatises were written by members of the Nijō school for the consumption of their students, especially members of the warrior class based in Kamakura (hence the lavish praise for Sanetomo).

The *usagi* treatises are part of a broader trend in Japanese intellectual history toward esotericism: secret teachings, sometimes regarding matters that seem trivial, passed in strict confidence from teacher to disciple via writings and oral instruction.[33] Teika was incidental to the process, but it tended to obscure his literary legacy and present a highly idiosyncratic, perhaps even distorted, view of his poetry and poetics in order to further the social and economic goals of the poets who composed these forgeries.

CHIKUENSHŌ

While the *usagi* treatises seem relatively indifferent to Teika beyond his status as Shunzei's heir, another text written around the same time

by Tameuji's grandson Tameaki (ca. 1230s–ca. 1295), presents a decisively negative view of Teika's poetry, harkening back to the Rokujō criticisms of his verse as *daruma-uta*. Tameaki's text, *Chikuenshō* (Excerpts from the bamboo garden, ca. 1275–88), begins with a discussion of various poetic faults: repetition of words and of syllables are the first two; the third is *ranshibyō,* the "illness of disordered thoughts":

> *Ranshibyō* refers to poems that lack logic and whose sense cannot be discerned. One should base a poem on reason, and bedeck it with words. But a poem in which one cannot grasp the reasoning is no poem at all. Take care to avoid this.
>
> *Saga no yama / kumo iru koro wa / mikari suru /*
> *obana ga sue no / aki no yūgure*
> On Mount Saga
> during the season that they shoot
> arrows at the clouds,
> at the tips of the pampas-grass hunters,
> the autumn twilight.

In poems such as this the words are connected, but one cannot hear any logic in them.

This poem does not seem to appear anywhere else and is unattributed, suggesting that it might have been composed extemporaneously by the author as an example. It leans heavily on a rather unconventional conceit: the tips of the pampas grass (*obana*) in autumn look like arrows pointed at the clouds, and therefore the speaker pretends that they are hunters, who took game in the same season. The poem ends with a nominal, which was typical of poetry of the *Shin Kokinshū* period, and the phrase "autumn twilight" (*aki no yūgure*) was especially favored during that age, enshrined in three poems in the Autumn book of the *Shin Kokinshū* that were later dubbed the "three twilights" (*sanseki no uta*).[34] This poem is not gibberish at all, but the *mitate* (willful or feigned mis-seeing) of the *obana* as arrows lacks the sanction of custom and is hardly interesting enough to justify itself. (Reimagining the plume of the *obana* as a beckoning sleeve, however, would have been permissible.)

Had his explanation ended here, Tameaki's citation of this obscure poem as evidence of the *ranshibyō* would have simply shown

a certain lack of imagination on his part. But he adduced another example:

> *haru no yo no / yume no ukihashi / todae shite /*
> *mine ni wakaruru / yokogumo no sora*
> On a spring night
> the floating bridge of dreams
> snapped:
> in the sky the clouds
> drift away from the peak.
>
> Poems such as this are afflicted by *ranshibyō*. No matter what sort of meaning one may intend, if a poem lack reason, it is difficult to avoid this illness.[35]

Tameaki's shocking example is one of Teika's most celebrated verses and appears in the first Spring book of the *Shin Kokinshū*.[36] He composed it for Cloistered Prince Shukaku's fifty-poem sequences at Ninnaji, discussed above.[37] Commentators have observed in it possible allusions to the last chapter of *Genji monogatari,* "Yume no ukihashi" (The bridge of dreams) and to other sources, including poems from *Genji* and the *Kokinshū* and the classical Chinese "Rhapsody on Gaotang Terrace."[38] Despite the possibility of allusion, the poem does not require knowledge of these sources in order to be understood. Spring nights were conventionally regarded as too short—besides the actual shortening of the nights, they were associated with lovemaking and its attendant quickening of perceived time. The speaker wakes in the middle of the night to see a mountain peak in the distance revealed as the clouds part from it. It must be a moonlit night. This visual experience duplicates the sensation of waking from a dream—perhaps a dream of longing, because the speaker has been dozing in this romantic setting rather than staying up all night with his beloved. As he emerges from sleep, he slips from the embrace of his dream-lover in the same way that the clouds leave the mountain bare. None of this is stated, but rather hinted at through connotation and convention. "Haru no yo" is a richly suggestive poem, certainly emblematic of the style of *yojō* and *yōen* that Teika mentioned in *Kindai shūka*.

Authorship of *Chikuenshō* is not completely certain. Imagawa Ryōshun attributed it to Tameuji's son Gojō Tamezane (1266–1333),

but it is believed the text was written by Tameie's son Tameaki (d. after 1294) sometime between 1275 and 1288.[39] From this severe criticism of one of Teika's most venerated poems, we can see that, less than fifty years after his death, not only were Teika's descendants fighting among themselves, but some of them had already even repudiated his poetic legacy.[40]

Tsurezuregusa

Teika makes two brief appearances in *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in idleness, ca. 1330), the collection of miscellaneous essays and anecdotes by Yoshida Kenkō. In the first, presented in the context of a list of trees that are desirable to plant in one's garden, Teika is said to have planted near the eaves of his house some plum trees with single-layer blossoms; he preferred this variety, because they bloomed and scattered early. Two of the trees were said to survive at the south of the lot in which his house was located on Kyōgoku Avenue.[41] In another story, Teika is asked by Go-Toba whether it is permissible to use both of the words *sode* and *tamoto* in a single poem. (Both words may be translated as "sleeve," but, strictly speaking, *tamoto* refers only to the area between the elbow and the shoulder, while *sode* denotes the entire sleeve.) Teika replies instantly with an example from the *Kokinshū*, and the matter is resolved. Kenkō adds, "It was recorded with a great fuss that Teika had remembered the original poem. This was greatly fortunate, and owing to the favor of the gods."[42] The source of this anecdote is unknown, but it suggests that already the process of elevating Teika to a special, even superhuman, status had already begun.

Muromachi Period

Teika's reputation would have languished even further were it not for the descendants of his grandson Tamesuke, the Reizei line. Although the Nijō, Reizei, and Kyōgoku families all tried to insist on their descent through Tameie by continuing to use the *tame* character in the names of their sons (a practice that the Reizei have maintained to the present day), success also requires differentiation, and the Nijō and Reizei appear to have distinguished themselves poetically by following different forebears. The Nijō modeled their poetics on Tameie's poetry and poetics. The Reizei, in general, followed Teika. Although the Nijō dominated the compilation of imperial anthologies, their line

went extinct by the early fifteenth century. Their teachings were transmitted to students, including such influential poets as Tonna, Tō no Tsuneyori, Sōgi, and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka.[43]

Teika's poetry found a sympathetic reader in the minister Kazan-in Nagachika (ca. 1350–1429), a high-ranking member of the Fujiwara family who served as Palace Minister (*naidaijin*) and as poetry tutor to the Ashikaga shoguns. In his treatise *Kōun kūden* (Kōun's oral teachings, 1408), Nagachika expressed great admiration for the *Shin Kokinshū* in general and especially for Shunzei, Saigyō, and Teika, whom he called "great sages of waka" (*waka no daiseijin*).[44] He cited a number of Teika's poems as model verses, including "akeba mata," which he recommended as a constant model for poets. Nagachika lists the "haru no yo" poem among those which should not be imitated, but not because of any flaws; rather, it is the product of a rare talent that would lead lesser poets astray if they tried to reproduce it. (Curiously, however, the bland poem on Mount Ogura cited earlier in this chapter also appears in this category.)[45] Nagachika's social position should have put him above factional poetic disputes, and indeed, although he mentions various poets of the Nijō line, he does not address the split among Teika's descendants, stating only that "since the time of the Kyōgoku Lay Priest and Middle Counselor [Teika], the Mikohidari family have been masters of this art."[46] Perhaps with the rivalries between Teika's descendants having subsided, poets were freer to judge the poems of the past based on personal taste rather than loyalty to factional doctrines.

Shōtetsu monogatari

One of the central figures in Teika's canonization, and perhaps even the most devoted and devout of Teika's readers, is the waka poet and Zen monk Shōtetsu (1381–1459). Born in Bitchū Province to a relatively humble family, after serving as an acolyte at Kōfukuji temple in Nara he became a monk and scribe at the Tōfukuji Rinzai Zen temple near Kyoto, studied with Reizei Tametada and Imagawa Ryōshun, and left behind an extraordinarily large poetic oeuvre. His personal anthology *Sōkonshū* (Collection of grass roots, 1473) contains more than eleven thousand waka, but it does not even represent the full extent of his work; much of his poetry was destroyed in a fire. Shōtetsu also bequeathed to posterity a collection of remarks on poetry known as

Shōtetsu monogatari (Conversations with Shōtetsu, ca. 1450). Not only did Shōtetsu admire Teika to an extraordinary degree; he was an influential advocate for his idol. Shōtetsu's social position permitted him to serve as a conduit between court culture, Buddhist poetry circles (which were not restricted to *kanshi*—Shōtetsu's student and fellow monk Shinkei [1406–1475] was a waka poet who became a renga master), and even the world of noh playwrights: Shōtetsu is believed to have had contact with Komparu Zenchiku (b. 1405).

In classical Japanese poetic treatises, the opening passages are typically reserved for broad statements about the art of waka. Although *Shōtetsu monogatari* appears to be an unstructured collection of remarks about poetry, rather than an organized treatise, it does begin with the words *kono michi nite* ("in this art"; literally, "along this way"). It then takes a surprising turn: "In this art of poetry, those who speak ill of Teika should be denied the protection of the gods and Buddhas and condemned to the punishments of hell."[47] What a way to begin! Shōtetsu continues by lamenting the contentious state of affairs between Teika's descendants—the Nijō, Reizei, and Kyōgoku families and their poetic schools—and advocates that poets emulate only Teika. As we have seen, however, the Reizei tended to admire Teika, while the Nijō encouraged emulation of Tameie and sometimes actually did criticize Teika. By holding up Teika as an exclusive model in the name of nonpartisanship, Shōtetsu is implicitly taking up a partisan position: that of the Reizei, with whom he was affiliated.

Shōtetsu's further remarks show that veneration of Teika was a custom of long standing:

> The twentieth day of the eighth month is the anniversary of Teika's death. When I was a child, people used to commemorate this day by composing poems at the Bureau of Poetry. Each participant would take a successive syllable of the following poem by Teika and place it at the beginning of his own verse:
>
> *akeba mata / aki no nakaba mo / suginubeshi /*
> *katabuku tsuki no / oshiki nomi ka wa*
>
> With the coming dawn,
> Once more the middle point of autumn
> Will have passed by.
> Must one only feel regret
> For the setting of the moon?

> This was possible because the poem does not have the syllables *ra, ri, ru,* or *re,* which is why they used it.[48]

Shōtetsu was born in 1381, so by 1400, the practice of *Kōmon eigu* (veneration of portraits of the Middle Counselor, that is, Teika) had been established.[49] (The "Bureau of Poetry" [Wakadokoro] mentioned in this anecdote has been interpreted as referring not to the official court office, but rather to the headquarters of the Reizei family.)[50] His recollection that the poem was used at memorial services for Teika should not be disputed, and his linguistic analysis is correct: in general, waka poets avoided using words of foreign origin in their verses, and native Japanese words do not begin with the phoneme /r/. Nevertheless, there are other reasons for choosing this poem in ceremonies venerating Teika. As we saw earlier, it appears in a twice-told tale in which Ietaka dropped a hint that he regarded Teika as the greatest poet of their age. Moreover, the season in which the poem is set matches almost perfectly Teika's death date, the twentieth day of the eighth lunar month, which falls just after the middle of the second month of autumn.[51]

Shōtetsu gives specific examples of his admiration for Teika. He praises the "haru no yo" poem (*Tesshoki monogatari,* the first section of *Shōtetsu monogatari,* henceforth *TM,* Sec. 15) and "When it comes to love poetry, nothing from ancient times to the present has been able to equal Teika's poems," Shōtetsu claims, and in the subsequent section undertakes a skilled and sympathetic exegesis of "Kaze araki" (*TM,* sec. 86, discussed above).[52] One of the most appealing aspects of Shōtetsu's text is his use of close readings, which is relatively rare in writing on waka. Commentators may quibble over word usage, but they seldom venture paraphrases and interpretations of individual poems. Shōtetsu admits when he is unsure of the meaning and provides alternative explanations.

It is clear that Shōtetsu had access to a variety of texts that he believed to have been written by Teika. He quotes from *Eiga no taigai* (*TM,* sec. 94) and misquotes *Kindai shūka* (*TM,* sec. 82). He regarded *Maigetsushō* as authentic (*TM,* sec. 67) and also, apparently, *Gukenshō* (*TM,* sec. 76; *Seigan chawa,* the second section of *Shōtetsu monogatari,* henceforth *SC,* sec. 38), *Guhishō* (*SC,* sec. 100; *TM,* sec. 2), and *Miraiki* (*SC,* sec. 63). Although Shōtetsu is not only one of Teika's most sympathetic readers but also one of the most astute, his view of

Teika is distorted by the *usagi* treatises and other forgeries, which present an esotericized, romanticized portrait of the poet.

Nonetheless, since Shōtetsu clearly had access to a good copy of *Shūi gusō* and read it carefully, he was able to avoid being led too far astray. He aptly calls Teika a master of the *mōdaru tei.* Although it sounds like one of the dubious styles put forth by *Teika jittei, Sangoki,* and other texts, the *mōdaru tei* (translated by Brower as "a polished and ingenious style") describes a certain quality of Teika's verse in which he begins with a topic and ends with a poem that seems a dimension or two beyond what an ordinary poet might be expected to produce. The term *mōdaru* appears to be a contraction of the word *momitaru,* indicating something that has been kneaded, rubbed, worked.[53] Others may prefer relatively simple, straightforward verses from Teika's poetry (the so-called *ushin* style, which Teika mentioned in passing in various poetry judgments but not in his treatises), but intensely devoted poets like Shōtetsu preferred his more technically complex works, even to distraction. After the stunning opening of his text, Shōtetsu's admiration for the old master, who died two centuries before he was born, reaches a second and final crescendo toward the end of the second half: "Sometimes on waking from sleep I happen to think of one of Teika's poems and feel as if I were about to lose my mind."[54]

Renga

As generations passed, waka poets found it harder to compose. They were limited by Teika's dictum to use only words that had appeared in the *sandaishū,* and some felt that all the novel treatments that could be thought of under such constraints had already appeared.[55] Waka remained the most prestigious literary genre, but in terms of activity and energy, it gave way to renga, linked verse composed in groups. Even already in the *usagi* treatises, phrases such as *shinku* (close linking) and *soku* (distant linking) that belong to the realm of renga poetics were appearing. Renga was based on waka, but it operated under fewer restrictions regarding diction and decorum, and the mode of composition allowed for development of themes over a broader scale (the most common sequence was composed of one hundred links) and for greater conceptual variety (as each verse was reinterpreted by the next poet).

Shinkei's *Sasamegoto (Murmured Conversations)*

Shōtetsu was an important conduit between the realms of waka and renga. In particular, his student Shinkei achieved great success as a renga master and wrote his own treatise (like Shōtetsu's text, really a collection of remarks) on the art, *Sasamegoto* (Murmured conversations, 1463–1464).

Like Shōtetsu, Shinkei regarded the *usagi* forgeries as authentic; he cites or refers to *Kirihioke, Guhishō,* and *Sangoki.*[56] Like most writers, he believed *Maigetsushō* also to have been written by Teika.[57] He even claims, erroneously, that Teika discussed the centerpiece of Shinkei's renga poetics, the theory of *hen-jo-dai-kyoku-ryū,* in a text called *Meigetsuki.*[58] (Such remarks do not appear in the extant portions of Teika's diary or in any other extant work attributed to him.) Shinkei also seems to have taken as genuine another forgery, a collection titled *Jisanka* (Poems praised by their authors), a collection of waka selected by Shinkokin-era poets from their own work at the command of Go-Toba.[59] (The poems are authentic but their selection and the story behind their compilation is believed to be the product of a later person.)[60] Of the treatises whose attribution to Teika is indisputable, Shinkei refers only in passing to *Kindai shūka,* in particular the valorization of poetry before the pre-Kanpyō era (which Shinkei interprets as referring to the *Man'yōshū*).[61] Although Shinkei had direct access to texts in the Buddhist esoteric tradition, we must wonder whether his misplaced credence in the *usagi* texts gave him the intellectual freedom to inject Buddhist esotericism into his theories of waka and renga, contributing to the gnostic, nearly cryptic tone that *Sasamegoto* assumes in its second half.

Shinkei's approach to Teika further resembled Shōtetsu's in its careful reading of Teika's verse, perhaps the most potent antidote to the improbable fantasies of the *usagi* texts. His engagement with Teika does not quite match Shōtetsu's—Shinkei does not cite verses by Teika that appear only in *Shūi gusō,* favoring instead waka that appear in imperial anthologies, including *Shin Kokinshū, Shin chokusenshū, Fūgashū,* and *Gyokuyōshū*—but this is a very high bar. Even reading these anthologized verses, however, Shinkei departed from the "received" version of Teika in his later years, the poet of *ushin* and a sincere, deceptively simple style. Perhaps through Shōtetsu, Shinkei was able to catch a glimpse of Teika the poet of *yōen,* the early dreamer of the age of *Matsura* and the *Shin Kokinshū.* In section 18 of *Sasamegoto*

he writes, "The configuration of Lord Teika's poetry has been likened to the vision of an ethereal maiden appearing fleetingly in a hazy, moonlit night, leaving a trail of fragrance as it vanishes."[62]

Shinkei wrote waka, but he was far more prolific in the genre of renga, and he is the first major figure to interpret Teika's verse from a perspective outside that of composing waka (that is, the thirty-one-syllable tanka or uta). Although renga was closely related to waka, it developed a distinct aesthetics and ethos. Specifically, renga transports the distinction between language (*kotoba*) and thought (*kokoro*) from the relatively static confines of the waka into the more dynamic relationship of the link, or gap, between renga verses. For example, whereas waka theorists debated the relative importance of language and thought within individual poems, renga theorists were concerned with the usage of language and thought as means of linking separate verses, usually composed by different poets. Linking linguistically, through diction, was called *shinku* (close linking); linking conceptually, sometimes by subtle associations, was called *soku* (distant linking), and was generally regarded as superior.

Thus Shinkei was interested in Teika not primarily as a model for writing waka poetry, but as a possible model, with suitable adaptations, for writing renga poetry. Although he quoted renga by Teika and his contemporaries (section 6), Shinkei made much greater use of Teika's waka. Moreover, he cited Teika as an authority to lend legitimacy to his own ideas about renga.

What was Shinkei's vision of renga, and how did his readings of Teika help him shape and promote that vision? As we have seen above, the *usagi* treatises' esoteric aspects (secret teachings, a process of initiation through methods of composing that culminated in the "demon-quelling style" styles and so on) accorded well with the elliptical, quasi-occultist view of renga that Shinkei unfolds in *Sasamegoto*. This is the first aspect. Another facet of the intersection between Shinkei's thought and his conception of Teika involves his social connections and patronage. Shinkei occupied a high position in the Buddhist clerical hierarchy with the support of the Hatakeyama warrior clan of Kii Province, and he had many associations with renga poets among the warrior class. In fact, *Sasamegoto* was written at the request of renga enthusiasts while Shinkei was on a religious retreat in Kii to pray for the Hatakeyama.[63] It is not surprising, therefore, that in addition to esotericism and a yearning for court culture, Shinkei's teachings on renga tend slightly toward what might be called, for lack

of a better word, muscularity. (In *Sangoki,* the "powerful style" appears as a substyle appended to the "demon-quelling style.") Shinkei believes he is quoting Teika when he writes, "There are many who understand that to be a masterpiece that is gentle and innocent and striking features, but they miss the point."[64] He also regarded as credible an anecdote in which Teika lamented to Shunzei that his poetry had lost the "gracefulness and refinement of expression" it had possessed while he was in his youth, instead becoming "bony" and seeming to lose its "alluring beauty." Shunzei consoles his son, telling him that he has attained the deepest level, that of bone, while Shunzei himself has managed to reach only the flesh.[65] The *usagi* treatises were well suited as a resource for appealing to members of the warrior class with literary leanings, as they may have been originally written by collateral lines of Teika's descendants for consumption of waka poets in the Kantō.

The Death of Sōgi

Shinkei's disciple Sōgi (1421–1502) is widely considered the leading poet in the history of renga, and he shared and surpassed his teacher's admiration of Teika. Sōgi died on the road while in the Hakone area. His last days are chronicled by his student Sōchō (1448–1532) in the text called *Sōgi shūen ki* (Chronicle of the demise of Sōgi, 1501–1502):

> *He Passes Away at Yumoto in Hakone.*
>
> We rested here on the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth, both days, and as we were setting out for the province of Suruga on the twenty-ninth, at about noon that day we were stricken, under these unfamiliar skies, by a bug called a "tapeworm" (*sunbaku*) and found ourselves quite at a loss. Although we set down the palanquins and took some medicine, it seemed to have no effect whatsoever, and we pondered our next step.
>
> We sought lodging at a place called Kōzu, and while we were spending the night, some horses, people, and palanquins appeared to take us to Suruga. Sojun[66] came galloping to meet us, and with help we arrived the next day at a place called Yumoto at the foot of Mt. Hakone. It was a bit more comfortable than being on the road. We ate some hot rice gruel, chatted, and dozed off.
>
> Everyone felt better, and so we made ready to cross the mountain the following day. As we were resting, some time after midnight, he seemed

to be in a great deal of pain, and when we roused him, he said, "I have just met Lord Teika in a dream," and recited the poem, "String of jewels—/ if you would break / then break!" (*Tama no o yo / taenaba taene*). Someone who heard him was thinking, "This is a poem by Princess Shokushi," when again he quietly recited a *maeku* from the thousand-link session we had the other day:

nagamuru tsuki ni / tachi zo ukaruru
Feeling restless
as I gaze at the moon.

In jest he said, "I am having trouble linking to it—the rest of you try," and so on. Then, as a lamp goes out, he stopped breathing.[67]

Sōgi's last words were some lines from the following poem by Princess Shokushi, a daughter of Emperor Go-Shirakawa and student of Shunzei (he wrote *Korai fūteishō* for her), which appears in the *Shin Kokinshū* (Love I, no. 1034):

tama no o yo / taenaba taene / nagaraeba /
shinoburu koto no / yowari mo zo suru
String of jewels—
if you would break
then break!
Should I stay alive
my endurance will grow weak.

In this famous verse, the speaker is exhausted by the tribulations of pursuing a love affair in secret. She apostrophizes her life itself, symbolized by a string of jewels (*tama* is a homophone for both "jewel" and "soul"). If she is to die, she wishes to die soon, as she feels her emotional strength ebbing away.

Why this poem, and not a poem by Teika? One explanation is that Sōgi sensed that death was approaching, and the verse by Shokushi is entirely apposite to the situation. Furthermore, it is included in *Ogura hyakunin isshu,* which was traditionally regarded as having been compiled by Teika. Another possible explanation is that he associated this poem with Teika via the mediation of the noh play *Teika* (also called *Teika-kazura,* "The Teika vine," mid-fifteenth century), in which this poem figures prominently.

The Noh Play *Teika*

Teika is believed to have been written by the noh actor, playwright, and theoretician Komparu Zenchiku (b. 1405), Zeami's son-in-law and artistic successor. Various documentary sources name Zenchiku as the author, and stylistic aspects confirm the attribution.[68] Like Zeami, Zenchiku wrote theoretical works about noh, and he was clearly familiar with the *usagi* treatises; he integrated *Teika jittei* with Zeami's Nine Levels (*Kyūi*) in his treatise *Kabu zuinōki*.[69]

In the play, a group of Buddhist monks is traveling from the north country to the capital, Kyoto, to see the sights. The season is early winter, just past the tenth day of the tenth month. Entering the capital, they are forced to take shelter by one of the sudden seasonal rains (*shigure*). Thereupon a woman of a certain age approaches and rebukes their thoughtlessness. Strangers in the big city, they have unwittingly sought refuge from the rain at the "Pavilion of Seasonal Rains" (*shigure no chin*). Erected by Teika, the pavilion afforded him a place to write poetry while gazing upon the rain, which moved him deeply. The woman asks the monks to give a sermon and expound the Dharma for the repose of the dead. (She does not say specifically that the services are for Teika.)

The monks' leader asks which of Teika's poems he wrote at the pavilion. At first the woman demurs, but eventually proposes this one:

> *itsuwari no / naki yo narikeri / kaminazuki no /*
> *ta ga makoto yori / shigure someken*[70]
> Truly this is
> a world without lies.
> In the tenth month
> by whose true words
> do the seasonal rains begin to fall?

The poem is an allusive variation on *Gosenshū* 445, which associates the *shigure* with the beginning of winter, that is, the tenth or "godless" month (*kaminazuki*). Curiously, the woman demonstrates an intimate knowledge of Teika's oeuvre—she recites a poem that does not appear in any of the imperial anthologies, and even cites its preface, suggesting that the playwright had access to a copy of *Shūi gusō*.

In the lyrics that follow, sung by the chorus, the woman meditates on the unstable (*sadame naki*) rains, punning on Teika's name,

Sadaie, and suggesting that she has some past connection to him that is a source of sadness to her. Then the woman reveals to the monks that she is on her way to visit a grave, and asks them to accompany her. They readily agree. The old grave she takes them to see is buried in ivy and vines. The woman tells them that the grave is that of Princess Shokushi, and that the vines that cover it are called "Teika vines" (*Teika-kazura*).[71] In response to their inquiries, she tells the monks the origin of the name.

Princess Shokushi was appointed priestess to the Kamo Shrine, but soon resigned her position. (This statement is half-true; she went to Kamo in 1159 at the age of ten after the accession of her eldest brother, Emperor Nijō, and left at age twenty, owing to illness.) Then, the local man tells them (and here the play veers even further from the historical record), Teika began to visit her secretly, and they embarked on a passionate love affair. Soon after that, Shokushi died, and Teika's tenacious attachment to her took the form of a vine and wrapped itself around her grave. Both their souls remain racked by suffering from the blind attachments of illicit lust.

Therefore, the woman asks the monks to pray for the release of the lovers, and she will tell them more. She sings a variant of the poem cited above beginning "*tama no o*" that Sōgi recited on his death bed (String of jewels— / if you would break / then break! / Should I stay alive / my endurance will grow weak) and the chorus narrates the beginning and end of their affair in a passage studded with allusions to various poems, including some relatively obscure verses by Teika and more waka from *Hyakunin isshu*. Then she reveals that she herself is the ghost of Princess Shokushi, begs the monks to help her, and vanishes.

After a narrative interlude by a kyōgen actor that provides greater detail and background, the woman returns as Shokushi as evening falls. She gives thanks for the monks' prayers, and the monks in turn express their sympathy on glimpsing her true, hideous form, racked by suffering caused by Teika's desire for her and its manifestation in the vines. The princess rejoices in having attained release and enlightenment, but after performing a "shameful" (*omona no*) dance, she is buried once more by the relentless vines, and disappears.

It should be clear that *Teika* represents a remarkable shift in the medieval understanding of Teika, his poetry, and his age. In it, he retains his status as a great poet, but his personal flaw is not arrogance, disagreeability, or ill temper: it is an erotic passion that transgressed

societal norms. Like Captain Fukakusa in the noh play *Kayoi Komachi,* the Teika character (who never appears in the play that bears his name) prevents his earthly lover from attaining enlightenment in the afterlife. Unlike Komachi and Fukakusa, however, Shokushi and Teika fail to gain release from their hellish fate. Shokushi seems to win it, then loses it; the happy ending is snatched away from her and the audience at the final moment. This is a remarkable outcome in the medieval noh canon.

It should also be clear that the story of the affair that lies at the core of *Teika* is nothing but a legend. The play states that Shokushi served as Kamo Priestess for only a short time before she resigned, but we know that she spent ten years at Kamo. It also says that Teika began seeing her soon afterward, but Teika was only seven years old when Shokushi returned to secular life. Finally, Shokushi lived for another thirty years after her service ended. Teika did know Shokushi and we have an account in *Meigetsuki* of his very first visit to her, accompanied by Shunzei. He did seem to be entranced by the atmosphere at her palace, noting the fragrance of incense.[72] Moreover, Shokushi did send love poems to Teika—but for correction and advice, not as an expression of her feelings for him. The inability of some medieval commentators to separate poet and speaker may have accounted for the creation of this legend.[73]

Where did this legend come from, and why would a playwright who clearly admired Teika cast him as a quasi villain in this play?

The usual source adduced in the previous scholarship is *Genji taikō* (or *Genji ōzuna,* Fundamentals of the *Tale of Genji,* early fifteenth century). As literacy increased in the Muromachi period, readership of *Genji* and other literary classics expanded beyond the geographic and social boundaries of the Kyoto-based court aristocracy. These new readers, also separated from the world of *Genji* by time, needed guides, outlines, and commentaries to help them read the text (or to substitute for reading the text). Some guides even helped readers allude to *Genji* in renga sessions.

Genji taikō is a digest of a digest; it is a condensed version of the guide *Genji monogatari teiyō* by Imagawa Norimasa (d. 1433). In the course of a discussion of events described in the chapter "Makibashira," the author of *Genji taikō* relates this anecdote:

> According to a certain tale, Lord Teika fell in love with Princess Shokushi, and they secretly consummated their relationship. When Retired Emperor

Go-Toba heard of this, he summoned the princess and forced her to make numerous vows [to break off with Teika]. The princess gave a written pledge never to be with him again after dawn the next day, and that evening she sent this to Teika:

nagaraete / asu made hito wa / tsurakaraji /
kono yūgure ni / towaba toekashi
Don't be cruel
to someone who will live
only until tomorrow.
If you would come to me
at dusk tonight, then come![74]

The poem says that she would not be able to meet him after daybreak, as she had made a pledge before His Majesty. That evening Teika came and took the Princess' hand. Weeping, he pressed his face against her breast and professed his love for her. These feelings were the beginning of the end for Teika, who died later, and the princess also passed away. Then, it is said, Lord Teika's passion turned into a vine that wound around the Princess' grave. At the time, he wrote this poem:

semete ge ni / ima hitotabi no / au koto wa /
wataran kawa ya / shirube naruran[75]
Yes, it's true,
if I could see you
just this one time
it would help you find
your way across the river.[76]

Read outside this narrative frame, Shokushi's poem seems to be written from the perspective of a woman who is dying (possibly of lovesickness). Sensing that the end is near, she writes to her lover and asks him to take pity on her and come see her one last night, as she may not live until the next day.

Teika's poem is based on the Japanese belief that the dead crossed a river with three fords (*Sanzu no kawa*) seven days after dying, and that a woman who died was carried across on the back of the man to whom she gave her virginity.[77] Read in this way, Teika's reply suggests that their relationship remained unconsummated at this point.

Thus we have the basis for the organizing conceit of *Teika,* or at least another version of a common oral tradition. Or perhaps not.

Ōtani Setsuko has revisited this passage from *Genji taikō* and compared it to the corresponding section of *Genji monogatari teiyō*. She found that the story of the affair between Shokushi and Teika does not appear in *Teiyō*. Moreover, she identified another instance in which *Genji taikō* presented information that did not appear in *Genji monogatari teiyō* and, curiously, it also involved material from a noh play (*Nonomiya* [The shrine in the meadow, mid-fifteenth century], based on Genji's visit to Rokujō before she leaves for Ise Shrine with her daughter; the play also happens to be attributed to Zenchiku). Ōtani argues that *Genji taikō* is based on the play *Teika,* not the other way around. Zenchiku himself may have been the inventor and originator of this fascinating fantasy.[78]

Wabi Tea Ceremony

One of Teika's best-known poems today is the deceptively simple "Miwataseba" but, as we have seen, it was not prominent in the early discourse on Teika—other poems like "Akeba mata," "Konu hito o" (his contribution to *Ogura hyakunin isshu*), and "Haru no yo" received more attention.

> *Miwataseba / hana mo momiji mo / nakarikeri /*
> *ura no tomaya no / aki no yūgure*[79]
> When I look out,
> there are no blossoms,
> no colored leaves.
> A thatched hut on the shore
> in the autumn twilight.

Although this poem was included in the *Shin Kokinshū,* it seems to have receded from sight for a few centuries. Retired Emperor Go-Toba omitted it from his Oki recension of the *Shin Kokinshū,* and Teika himself left it out of his digest of the first eight imperial anthologies, *Hachidaishū*.

The poem owes much of its prominence today to practitioners of the tea ceremony, especially to an Edo-period forgery that was portrayed as a record of sayings of late medieval tea masters. *Nanbōroku* (Nanbo's records; purportedly late sixteenth century, actually late seventeenth century) is written in the voice of a tea master named Nanbō Sōkei, who presents sayings attributed to his teacher, Sen no Rikyū

(1522–1591), the central figure in the history of the tea ceremony. (Current scholarship regards Nanbō as a fictive personage concocted by the text's real author, Tachibana Jitsuzan [1662–1708].)[80] Pseudo-Sōkei quotes Rikyū recalling the words of his own teacher, Takeno Jōō (1502–1555):

> It is said that Jōō, commenting on the spirit of the *wabi*-style tea ceremony, cited this poem by Lord Teika from the *Shin Kokinshū:*
>
> *Miwataseba / hana mo momiji mo / nakarikeri /*
> *ura no tomaya no / aki no yūgure*
> When I look out,
> there are no blossoms,
> no colored leaves.
> A thatched hut on the shore
> in the autumn twilight.
> and declared it to be precisely the spirit of this poem.
>
> The blossoms and colored leaves symbolize the arrangement of a formal tea room and equipment stand. One first gazes intently at the blossoms and colored leaves and then arrives at the thatched hut on the coast, which is the boundary of release from all attachments. Those who do not know the blossoms and leaves in the first place are unable to dwell in a thatched hut. It is only by gazing at it over and over again that the thatched hut's perfect *sabi* [existential loneliness] comes into view. It is said that this is the original spirit of the tea ceremony.
>
> Sōeki [that is, Rikyū] discovered another poem, and he would continually write out these two poems, and trusted in them. The other is from the same anthology, a poem by Ietaka:
>
> *Hana o nomi / matsuran hito ni / yamazato no /*
> *yukima no kusa no / haru o misebaya*[81]
> To those who wait only
> for blossoms I would show
> the grass growing
> where the snow has melted
> at a mountain village in spring.
>
> This poem also should be understood. Ordinary people wonder when the blossoms on this mountain or in that grove are going to bloom and will spend the entire day seeking them out, oblivious to the fact that the blossoms and colored leaves are in one's own mind. They take delight

> only in the colors that they can see with their eyes. The mountain village, like the thatched hut on the shore, is a lonesome place to live. Last year's blossoms and leaves, an entire year's worth, all lie completely buried under the snow, and the mountain village has become desolate, completely endowed with *sabi*. The poem is of the same mind as "a thatched hut on the shore."[82]

The pseudo-Rikyū appears to have appropriated these poems for his own aesthetic agenda, the advancement of *wabi* (simulation of the dwelling of an impoverished but elegant recluse) in the tea ceremony, in opposition to a more elaborate, materially ornate style. Teika's poem in particular assumes a metaphysical dimension, in which the blossoms and leaves are not merely blossoms and leaves, but rather represent the ornate style of tea through which one must pass before reaching the more advanced, superior wabi style, represented by the thatched hut. Although the "miwataseba" poem was early identified by the courtier, poet, and scholar Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537) as alluding to *The Tale of Genji,* the allusion is not necessary to understanding the poem.[83] It is a simple poem that runs counter to common understandings of beauty; these qualities account for its popularity, despite the relative indifference to the poem before Rikyū. By the turn of the twentieth century, the image of the thatched hut on the shore from Teika's poem had become so dominant in tea discourse that the Urasenke school used the phrase *ura no tomaya* as the title of a textbook.[84]

Calligraphy

While Sanetaka may have inspired admiration of this poem—he tutored Jōō in waka poetry—tea masters had other reasons to choose a poem by Teika as justification for their aesthetic practices. The display of calligraphy mounted on hanging scrolls is an important part of the tea ceremony, and scraps of Teika's calligraphy (both authentic and otherwise) have been coveted by tea practitioners for centuries.

Teika had a low opinion of his own handwriting. In *Meigetsuki,* he wrote that he was "not a skilled calligrapher," his calligraphy was "very unsightly," that he had "poor handwriting and old eyes," and most memorably, that his handwriting "looked like demons." Its only redeeming qualities were that he could copy texts quickly and with-

out errors.[85] What scholars and connoisseurs now call the "Teika style" (*Teika-yō*) dates from his late forties; until that age, his handwriting was idiosyncratic, but not especially unattractive.[86] Eye trouble was not the only cause of problems; Teika also suffered from partial paralysis and swelling of the hands.[87]

Like the "miwataseba" poem, Teika's handwriting departs from traditional notions of beauty. It lacks the taut elegance of Shunzei's calligraphy and, in its emphasis on legibility, avoids cursivation and ligatures. Squarish and relatively easy to read, its most distinguishing characteristic is unusual variation in the thickness of lines: some are wispy thin, others emphatically thick, with little middle ground.[88]

Instantly recognizable, Teika's calligraphic style has inspired imitation for centuries. His great-grandson, the monk Jōi (fl. 1260–1326) left manuscripts that are among the earliest extant examples of other persons writing in the Teika style.[89] Yet the practice of others writing in Teika's hand begins even during his lifetime, and was encouraged by Teika himself. The copying and editing of earlier literary texts was one of Teika's passions, especially in his later years, and he ran a scriptorium of sorts out of his household. For a long text like the *Tale of Genji,* he enlisted the collective efforts of his ladies-in-waiting, but for other jobs, Teika could rely on scribes like his aged retainer Yoshinao, whose death in 1212 Teika mourned in an entry in *Meigetsuki,* lamenting the loss of someone who could "write kanji exactly like the model" (*katachi no gotoku mana wo kaku*).[90] The known involvement of scribes working under Teika's direction complicates the problem of determining the authenticity of samples of calligraphy attributed to Teika.

In later generations, members of the Reizei family imitated Teika's calligraphy to reaffirm their descent from him. One descendant, Reizei Tamehisa (1686–1741), was so skilled at writing in the Teika style that Retired Emperor Reigen commanded him to stop, lest he confound posterity.[91] Unauthorized imitation became popular in the late medieval period. Extant examples in the Teika style include works by admirers such as the courtier and poet Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1597–1638), the garden designer Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), and the daimyos Tokugawa Mitsutomo (1625–1700) and Matsudaira Harusato (also known as Fumai, 1751–1818).[92] The impetus for this trend was partly pecuniary. Display of Teika's handwriting at tea gatherings, especially large cards with poems from *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (*Ogura shikishi*), dates from no later than 1555, when Takeno Jōō displayed

the Ogura *shikishi* "Ama no hara" poem at a gathering.[93] About twenty of the *shikishi* are still extant, but there is no scholarly consensus regarding their authenticity. This uncertainty has existed from the very beginning; the earliest mention of an Ogura *shikishi* is an entry in Sanetaka's diary. Sōgi gave a *shikishi* to Sanetaka in 1490 and, the same year, asked him to authenticate a different one. The tea text *Yamanoue Sōji ki* (Records of Yamanoue Sōji, 1589) discusses ways to identify authentic Ogura *shikishi,* indicating that forgeries were already in circulation.[94] Given the burgeoning market in tea utensils and other items used in tea ceremonies, it is to be expected that enterprising forgers would create works for sale and pass them off as originals. Indeed, the relatively late appearance of the Ogura *shikishi* in the historical record is itself suspect.

Edo Period

The late medieval period and early Edo period (that is, ca. 1550–1650) represented the apogee of veneration toward Teika. Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1654), the famous haikai poet, remembered his late teacher, the multitalented daimyo Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610), as the "reincarnation" of Teika. In fact, Yūsai even died on the same day of the year as Teika (eighth month, twentieth day).[95] Yūsai wrote a commentary on *Eiga no taigai* (*Eiga no taigai shō,* 1586, based on lectures given by Sanetaka's grandson Saneki), which, along with *Ogura hyakunin isshu,* was one of the most popular texts attributed to Teika in this period. For his part, Teitoku alluded to Teika's life and works in his haikai. His solo composition of one hundred links *Uta izure no maki* (ca. 1620–1640) includes the following sequence:

> 61 *myōnen wa / kami yo mamorase / owashimase*
> O Gods,
> grant me your protection
> in the coming year.
> 62 *itsu sumiyoshi zo / meigetsu no kage*
> When will it shine clear at Sumiyoshi,
> the favorable light of the harvest moon?
> 63 *tsuyu hodo mo / ayakaritaki wa / Teika ni te*
> The person I most
> want to take after, even for
> a moment—is Teika.

64 *Naishinnō to / chigiru iku aki*[96]
For how many autumns
did he pledge his love to the Princess?

Link 61 is a rather bland background (*ji*) link; the speaker is praying at a Shinto shrine for divine protection in the New Year. Link 62 expands the topic of Shinto deities by specifically mentioning the Sumiyoshi shrine near modern-day Osaka, whose principal deity was the patron god of waka. It puns on Sumiyoshi and the verb *sumu* 'to become clear' and on *kage* meaning 'light' and 'favor, benevolent influence.' The season has shifted from late winter to midautumn, the time of the harvest moon (*meigetsu*). Link 63 continues the request of the speaker (or the poet, in this particular case); he prays that he may become a great poet. Although the context of a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi would make such a request appropriate, Teitoku's own commentary says, "Teika had a vision of the Sumiyoshi god and wrote *Meigetsuki.*"[97] This is a reference to the line from *Maigetsushō* cited earlier:

> Some time ago, during the Genkyū era [1204–1206], when I made a retreat at Sumiyoshi, I had a wonderful dream inspired by the God, in which I was told, "for you the moon is radiant" [*nanji tsuki akiraka nari*]. Because of this I wrote my "Record of the Full Moon" [*Meigetsuki*], so as to contribute to the poetic traditions of my house.[98]

Thus it is clear that Teitoku's reception of Teika is based in part on a reading of *Maigetsushō*. Another mediator for Teitoku is the legend of the affair between Teika and Shokushi that forms the basis for the noh play *Teika;* in Link 64, the speaker changes his mind and wishes to emulate not Teika's prowess as a poet, but his enviable success in seducing an imperial princess and former Kamo priestess.

Teitoku's student Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694) respected Teika but, if anything, preferred as his personal model Saigyō, the traveling poet—he mentions Saigyō by name in the beginning of *Oku no hosomichi* (Narrow Road to the Deep North, 1694). In Bashō's circles, the poet who most admired and resembled Teika was his disciple Kikaku (1661–1707). The text *Kyoraishō* (Commentaries by Kyorai, ca. 1704) records the comments of Bashō and another disciple, Mukai Kyorai (1651–1704), on this verse by Kikaku:

kiraretaru / yume wa makoto ka / nomi no ato
Was it true,

my dream of being stabbed?
Bite marks of a flea.

Kyorai said, "Kikaku was a consummate artist (*sakusha*). Who could take something so simple as being bitten by a flea, and say so much about it?"

The late master [Bashō] said, "Yes, that is so. He is Lord Teika. It is very much like the critique, "He takes something trivial and expresses it to the fullest."[99]

Kikaku alluded to Teika's poems in his haikai as well. For example, this verse is regarded as alluding to "Haru no yo":

kabashira ni / yume no ukihashi / kakaru nari[100]
Upon a pillar
of mosquitoes rests
the floating bridge of dreams.

Kikaku puns on the phrase *kabashira* ("pillar of mosquitoes," that is, a more-or-less vertical cluster or swarm of the insects). If it be a pillar than surely it must be an unreliable one, fitting only for the construction of that flimsiest of bridges, the floating bridge of dreams. Among other things, this verse provides us with an apt example of the yoking of the elegant and the folk (*ga* and *zoku*) effected by Bashō and his disciples. It also gives a hint of the overall reception of Teika in the Edo period. Even in the hands of his most reverent admirers, Teika's greatest achievements are travestied, albeit, as the phrase goes, with all due respect.

We can see this trend clearly as well in the writings of Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693), almost an exact contemporary of Bashō. Saikaku was an accomplished practitioner of haikai, the genre on which he cut his literary teeth, but he is now best known for his prose writings on commoner life, especially the demimonde. Teika appears from time to time in Saikaku's works, both fictional and discursive. In *Shin kashōki* (*A New Chronicle of the Risible,* 1688), Saikaku provides a list of outstanding persons in a variety of professions—religious, military, literary—from both China and Japan. His Japanese examples are, respectively, Kūkai, Kusunoki Masashige, and Teika.[101] In other texts, Saikaku reveals his admiration for Teika in unusual ways. One of the stories in *Buke giri monogatari* (Tales of Samurai Honor, 1688) tells the tale of a courtesan who unwittingly falls in love with two

men—one a samurai on the run, the other the son of a colleague whom the samurai killed, who is pursuing him in hopes of revenge. As a sign of her fidelity, the courtesan takes her own life at the site of their duel. Saikaku names the loyal demimondaine Teika, honoring in one stroke both the courtesan and her namesake.[102] Yonosuke, the hero of Saikaku's send-up of the playboy lifestyle, *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (*Life of an Amorous Man,* 1682), is so outrageously extravagant that one snowy morning he goes out wearing a paper jacket made of scraps of old calligraphy, including a page from "an album authenticated by Ryōsa, poem slips in Teika's hand, three poems by Yorimasa, and a *chōka* by the monk Sosei."[103] In *Nippon eitaigura* (*The Eternal Storehouse of Japan,* 1688), Saikaku's exploration of the economic world, a down-on-his-luck trader goes to visit a courtesan and falls for her hard when he sees the folding screen that stands near her pillow:

> Both sides were decorated in gold, and completely covered with pasted scraps of old calligraphy, not a single one mediocre. Among them were six Ogura *shikishi* by Teika that did not appear in the catalogues of famous tea objects (*meibutsuki*). As he examined the old paper, he realized they were authentic beyond any doubt. "What sort of man gave these to her?" he thought, and desire stirred within him.[104]

On the one hand, the screen stimulates mimetic desire for the courtesan: the trader realizes that she has at least one wealthy and discerning man among her clients, and this makes him want her even more. On the other hand, the object and nature of the "desire" are not specified. The trader falls in love with the courtesan, and she with him, and eventually he asks her to give him the screen. She does so happily. He promptly jilts her, sells the screen to a daimyo, makes a handsome profit, and becomes prosperous again. But this trader is a loyal cad: he buys out the courtesan's contract and gives her a sumptuous dowry so that she can marry her lover and settle down. In Saikaku's world, Teika has been thoroughly commodified, whether as a courtesan who can be bought and sold, or as a material object, authentic or otherwise, that can revive a fortune and redeem a life.

Kokugaku

It is perhaps inevitable that, at some point in the history of the reception of Teika's biography and literary works, a backlash would occur. Whether the fabrication of an illicit affair with Princess Shokushi

counts as a negative reaction to the canonization of Teika as poetic saint is debatable—the precedents of Narihira seducing the Ise priestess, and of the purely fictional Hikaru Genji and other characters in *Genji monogatari* indulging in even more transgressive relationships were too appealing. We cannot discount the idea that the alleged relationship between Teika and Shokushi burnished rather than tarnished his luster (hers is another matter), as hinted in Teitoku's link cited above.

A clear example of backlash does appear, however, in the treatise *Kokka hachiron* (1742), by the *kokugaku* (National Studies) scholar Kada Arimaro (1706–1752). This text is best known for the controversy it ignited over Arimaro's claim that, contrary to the assertions of generations of courtier poets (including Teika), waka was of no use in governing the realm and was properly understood as an elegant, delightful pastime.[105] Arimaro's stance is clearly a contrarian one. He also lacked the contemporary enthusiasm for the *Man'yōshū,* instead preferring the elaborate lyricism of the *Shin Kokinshū.* Among the *Shin Kokinshū* poets, his favorite is not Shunzei, Saigyō, Teika, or Ietaka, but Yoshitsune:

> But as for the poetry of the Go-Kyōgoku regent [Yoshitsune], every verse is embroidered brocade; each line is a jewel, a piece of gold. When he expresses his feelings I immediately feel moved; when he describes a landscape it is as if I can see it before my very eyes. The style is elegant and appealing, and it has great strength. The wording is intricate and never flags. It is truly the essence of lovely language. Nonetheless, others so revere Lord Teika that they are oblivious to the sublimity of Go-Kyōgoku's poetry, and they rank his mind below that of Lord Teika. Of that lord's poems, which is extraordinarily moving? Which is supremely magnificent? Look at how many times he lost in poetry matches. Compared to his father, Lord Shunzei, he is quite inferior. My personal ranking would put Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Ietaka, and others far above that lord. Be that as it may, we all have our preferences, so I would not insist upon the point. You should be as you wish, and I shall do the same. Moreover, when it comes to poetic style, one must not be giving orders to others.[106]

Arimaro's point that an excessive focus on Teika (prompted by the survival of his descendants, who elevated themselves by venerating him) obscured the merits of his contemporaries is well taken. His evi-

dence, however, is shaky. One of the reasons Teika lost so many rounds at poetry matches is that he or his father often served as judge, and had to award victories to his opponents in order to avoid appearing biased, or to satisfy convention. Conversely, although Yoshitsune was a superb poet, his overwhelming victory at *Roppyaku-ban utaawase* owed much to his superior political, social, and economic status.

Arimaro seems to be reacting against the blind worship of Teika, rather than an inherent fault of Teika himself. He asks which of Teika's poems are good, as if there are none, but he well knows which ones are regarded highly. ("Miwataseba" by the tea people, "Haru no yo" by those who like their poetry allusive, "Akeba mata" by those who prefer it plain, "Konu hito o" by those who have only memorized *Hyakunin isshu.*) In an earlier section, Arimaro also seems to be writing against the excessively hagiographic treatment of Teika when he faults him for an ignorance of correct kana usage. In fact, Teika was quite knowledgeable about kana usage, and devoted considerable thought to it. His system, known today by linguists as *Teika kana-zukai,* scrupulously differentiated between sounds that were originally different but had become homophonous by Teika's time. Therefore it seems likely that mistakes in usage that appear in texts Teika copied are probably reflections of contemporary usage rather than errors on his part.[107]

Arimaro's views on Teika were also in the minority among the *kokugaku* scholars. One of Teika's most ardent admirers in the *kinsei* period was Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), perhaps the central figure in the *kokugaku* movement. His early work *Ashiwake obune* (A skiff parting the reeds, ca. 1757) presents his views on a variety of poetical topics, among them Norinaga's favorable opinion of Teika:

> Among the famous poets, Lord Teika was especially excellent. Moreover, since he was the son of Lord Shunzei, and his poetry surpassed even that of his father, and he was able to produce verse that others were incapable of writing, the whole world reveres him more highly than anyone else. He was truly without peer in any time, and it makes perfect sense to revere him as a master of this way, even unto the latter age. I myself also regard this lord as a model for composing waka, and revere him from afar as my teacher in the way of poetry.[108]

These lines could have been written by Shōtetsu three hundred years earlier. Indeed, in another passage Norinaga, like Shōtetsu, laments the split between Teika's descendants into warring factions, but goes even

further to criticize the institution of the poetic "house" (*ie*) itself, for its tendency to supplant the importance of individual talent.[109] As for Arimaro's criticisms of Teika's kana usage, Norinaga reconciles them by saying he follows Teika in matters of poetry, and Keichū (1640–1701) in matters of poetics.[110] (Keichū is regarded as a founding figure in *kokugaku* studies for his philological research on *Man'yōshū.*) Arimaro and Norinaga were in agreement, however, on the supremacy of the *Shin Kokinshū* among the twenty-one imperial anthologies. They also shared a contempt for the *Kokin denju,* and their reliance upon textual analysis instead of secret teachings laid the foundation for modern studies of waka poetry.

Later *Senryū, Kyōka*

It would be tempting to conclude our examination of the reception of Teika in the Edo period with the adulatory words of Norinaga, and draw a straight line between him and modern scholars and critics, who generally share his very high opinion of the *Shin Kokinshū* and of Teika. Yet this would be erroneous. While the haikai poets paid tribute to him in their own currency, and Saikaku in his, the poets of the outright comic genres (*senryū,* light verse in the 5-7-5 haiku format, and *kyōka* in the 5-7-5-7-7 waka format) rendered Teika homage too in their irreverent way.

Teika must have held special appeal to comic poets—not only was he an icon to be parodied, but he was believed to have been a writer of *kyōka* himself. The compendium of comic stories *Kinō wa kyō no monogatari* (*Yesterday's events are today's tales,* ca. 1624–1644?) recounts the following anecdote:

> The monk Kyōgaku, a younger brother of Lord Teika, found himself in extraordinarily straitened circumstances. Toward year's end he sent this verse to Lord Teika:
>
> *Kyōgaku ga / shiwasu no hate no / karainji /*
> *toshi uchikosan / ishi hitotsu tabe*
> 'Tis New Year's Eve
> and Kyōgaku is empty-handed
> at a rock-throwing fight.
> Give me one so that
> I may survive until next year!

In reply, Teika wrote:

Sadaie ga / chikara no hodo wo / misen to te /
ishi wo futatsu ni / warite koso yare
In order to show you
the magnitude of Sadaie's
power and might
I send you this rock
broken in half!

He sent his reply accompanied by a sack of rice.[111]

Both poems lean heavily on dual readings for the character 石 *ishi* 'rock,' but also *koku* 'bushel of rice.' Neither appears in Teika's collected works and the story seems concocted.

It was not uncommon for *kyōka* poets to write parodies of famous waka. Among Teika's, "Miwataseba" was an obvious choice, with its distinctive rhythm and structure of multiple nouns that could be swapped out for funnier stuff. Here is an example by the *kyōka* poet Shikatsube no Magao (1754–1829):

Kashitsubo ni / hana mo momiji mo / nakarikeri /
kuchi sabishisa no / aki no yūgure[112]
In the candy jar
there are no blossoms,
no crimson leaves.
My mouth feels lonesome
in the autumn twilight.

Aside from the frisson of mocking a hallowed text of tea masters, there seems to be little to recommend this verse; it is difficult to call it witty.

Teika's poetry could also serve as fodder for *senryū* poets. In the compendium *Omote no wakaba* (1732), one anonymous writer, given the setup verse "*sarari sarari toku toku*" ("smoothly, smoothly! quickly, quickly!") responded with this:

koma tomete / sashi uchiharau / chawanzake
I stop my pony
and buy a string's worth
of cheap wine.[113]

It is a parody of Teika's famous verse:

> *koma tomete / sode uchiharau / kage mo nashi /*
> *Sano no watari no / yuki no yūgure*
> There is no shade
> to stop my pony and brush
> off my sleeves.
> The ford at Sano
> in the snowy twilight.

The poet keeps Teika's first verse, changes *sode* 'sleeve' to *sashi* 'string of cash,' and puns on the double meanings of *harau,* 'brush off' and 'pay.' Instead of savoring a poignant landscape, the speaker has purchased over two liters of rotgut.

Meiji and Beyond

One could continue this survey into the Meiji period and the present day, but is unlikely that such an endeavor would uncover much more than a repetition of the trends that we have observed so far. People praise Teika, and imitate him; or criticize him, and say he is not to be imitated; or they may praise him and say he is not to serve as a model. He is a poetic sage or saint; he is a scandalous, lustful lover, suffering in hell. He is overrated; he is a pillar of the literary establishment to be parodied. His calligraphy is ugly; his calligraphy is sublime; his calligraphy is extremely valuable.

But one more commentator is worth hearing from. Masaoka Shiki attempted to reform modern waka (*tanka*), which had been stultifying for centuries, partly owing to the linguistic conservatism that Teika dictated in *Kindai shūka* and *Eiga no taigai.* Shiki begins his "Another Letter to a Poet" (*Futatabi utayomi ni atauru sho,* 1898) with an encomium to Teika's student Sanetomo, whom he praises for refusing to "lick the dregs" left behind by Tsurayuki and Teika and for writing from a fresh perspective. This gives us a sense of where he will stand regarding Sanetomo's teacher:

> As for after *Kokinshū,* the *Shin Kokinshū* seems rather fine. Its compilers found poems that were better than those of the *Kokinshū.* Nevertheless, one can count such poems on one's fingers. The one called Teika is impossible to fathom; I cannot discern whether he was talented or not,

> but when one examines the selection of the *Shin Kokinshū,* it seems to me that he had some idea of what he was doing. On the other hand, there is not a single satisfactory verse among his own poems. There are those like "*Koma tomete / uchiharau*" and "*Miwataseba / hana mo momiji mo*" that people make much of. If we compare Teika to the painters of the Kanō school, I suppose he is much like Tan'yū. Teika left no masterpieces and neither did Tan'yū. Yet both Teika and Tan'yū possessed abilities that were considerably developed and they were able to accomplish their work under any circumstances. The degree of fame accorded to each is roughly equivalent. After Teika, poetic factions arose, and after Tan'yū, artistic factions arose, and after both their houses produced factions, both poetry and painting rotted away completely. No matter the age or the art, when such things as the "rank" (*kaku*) of a poem or the "rank" of a painting are fixed, it is very difficult to make any progress.[114]

Seen only in the context of the reception of Teika's biography and works, Shiki's position seems very much cribbed from Kada Arimaro's, with the substitution of Sanetomo for Yoshitsune as the preferred alternative.

After Shiki, Teika was taken up as a favorite of modern tanka poets from the Araragi faction, and by free verse poets, as well, such as Hagiwara Sakutarō (1886–1942).

There is a lovely restaurant not far from the Takarazuka theater between Osaka and Kobe, called Meigetsuki. It serves very good Kyoto-style cuisine under the tagline "*shingi ushin,*"[115] which rather compactly combines two poetic ideals with which Teika was associated, the "newfangled" (*shingi*) Daruma style of his youth and the "heartful" (*ushin*) style of his old age. The commodification of Teika that began with the collection of his calligraphy and that we see illustrated in the works of Saikaku has blossomed into full flower in the postmodern capitalist age.

Conclusions

The reader may recall that this study began with the question, "Why Teika?" Two centuries after Teika died, why did the poet Shōtetsu stay up all night thinking of Teika's poems, feeling as if he were losing his mind? Why did he revere Teika, and not someone else? Why did tea masters a century after Shōtetsu spend great sums to acquire samples

of Teika's calligraphy, mount them on scrolls, and hang them in their alcoves? Was Teika's poetry truly superb? Why? Was it especially difficult? How so? What do those scraps of calligraphy say, and was it their content, the handwriting, or the identity of the author that conferred value upon them? A combination of all three? The survey of the history of his reception presented above gives us some clues.

First of all, Teika's success demanded an extraordinary degree of talent. Whether it was inborn or nurtured is a false choice; Teika had the benefits of heredity and environment, growing up as the son of Shunzei and, it should not be forgotten, his devoted mother, Kaga, a highly literate former lady-in-waiting to a retired empress. "Talent" in this context means a high degree of literacy, a prodigious memory of the Chinese and Japanese classics, and the ability to innovate within the confines of the conventions of Japanese court poetry, the dominant genre of the time.

Second, this talent emerged at an exciting moment in Japanese poetic history, when the canon and its conventions were simultaneously treasured and revised. The age of the *Shin Kokinshū* produced multiple luminaries, and they were fortunate to encounter and learn from one other. Being a member of a strong literary cohort was invaluable.

But the question still remains, why Teika? Why not Ietaka, Yoshitsune, Shokushi, or someone else?

The answer to this question, I think, lies mainly in a phenomenon that Teika's most ardent admirers and most vociferous critics denounced with one voice: the split among his descendants into the Nijō, Reizei, and Kyōgoku factions. It was precisely this division that forced the members of the various schools to assert their legitimacy by clinging to the mantle of one of their forebears or another. The Nijō largely held up Tameie, while the Reizei followed Teika (it is puzzling why no one, such as the Kyōgoku, attempted to trump both by holding up Shunzei as the supreme ancestor). Of course, only the Reizei survived, and that is also part of the answer. By persisting, even at times on the fringes of the center, they were present and ready when Shōtetsu, Rikyū, Norinaga, or others needed a model, a poetic hero, a great man. Teika fit the bill for various figures in multiple ages. He is still there, haunting not Shokushi's grave but the archives of the Reizei family, for anyone who still needs him today.

In those awe-inspiring archives reposes another answer—Teika's vast handwritten autograph oeuvre, especially his diary, which gives us insight into the daily life of Teika that we lack for almost every other

figure of his age, including Ietaka, Shunzei, Yoshitsune, and Shokushi. We crave, in the age of celebrity and of the conflation of biography and art, to approach the person as well as the poet. Through his poetry, poetics, fiction, and, especially, his diary and his calligraphy, Teika affords us, however unwittingly and unwillingly, a fascinating glimpse of the mind and—dare one say—soul of "a friend from an age we have never seen" (*minu yo no tomo*).

Conclusion

Who was Fujiwara no Teika? Through the centuries, generations of writers, beginning with Teika's own time, have sought to answer this question for themselves. To Go-Toba, Teika was arrogant and intractable. To Ukyō no Daibu, he was magnanimously thoughtful. Saigyō considered him a prodigy, and Shunzei too was delighted by his successor, although their outlooks differed in various respects. Kenshō and others mocked him as a Zen babbler. Sanetomo venerated him as his teacher, Ietaka and Jien as a friend, Tameie as a loving father. In later generations the man became almost a god. Shōtetsu held Teika in the highest esteem. Zeami and Zenchiku quoted his poetry and his treatises in their plays and treatises. Zenchiku wrote a play that bears Teika's name but in which he never appears, remaining always a tenacious shadow presence offstage. Sōgi dreamed of him just before he died. Teika became one of the paragons of poetry in the late medieval and early Edo periods, a symbol for an elegant, ingenious, lost way of life. By 1600 he was a commodity, as samples of his distinctive handwriting were bought, sold, traded, and forged to satisfy the craving to touch that way, that world. Inevitably backlashes occurred. One set of descendants preferred to emphasize Tameie's less demanding style of verse, which could be more easily learned; Teika's was difficult, if not impossible, to teach. In the early modern period, glimmers of doubt about the excessively high estimates of Teika's oeuvre began to appear, resurfacing in Shiki's manifestos. The worship is largely gone now, but Teika's renown has only expanded through the opening of the Reizei archives. This material will not be exhausted anytime soon.

Who was Teika? He was an intelligent man with a weak constitution and a stubborn streak, born into a literary family of courtiers on the cusp of Japan's "medieval" age as the hereditary aristocracy was forced to cede some of its military, economic, and political power to a nascent military class. Fortunately, Teika and his patrons found ways to ally themselves both with the old aristocrats and the new warriors, and, despite his perennial complaints, he and his heir managed to attain a degree of success at court that had eluded their family for generations. Despite various potentially devastating setbacks—the rise of the Taira, the rise of the Minamoto, the fall of the Kujō, Teika's falling-out with Go-Toba, and the Jōkyū Disturbance—Shunzei, Teika, and Tameie found a way to survive and flourish.

Teika was a brilliant poet with an encyclopedic knowledge of the Japanese classics and a very strong knowledge of the classical Chinese literary canon and of the Buddhist scriptures, which he also read in classical Chinese. He was a heavy textualist; he had a fondness for the written word and especially for old documents that was almost obsessive. Fortunately for us, he borrowed and copied texts continually over his long life, building an archive that has come down to us not completely intact but intact to a degree beyond what we could possibly expect. Although he was a devout student of the past, he recognized that the literary tradition needed to be reinvented, realigned, and readjusted by each generation, and with the advice and support of like-minded poets he led a movement, if that is not too strong a term, to revivify a moribund poetic practice. Their methods included, somewhat paradoxically, allusion to previous works and preservation of the inherited lexicon. Yet what differentiated them from the earlier poets and from their more traditional contemporaries was a reimagining of the poem as a site of intellectual play, in which the object was not merely to state a conventional sentiment in traditional poetic language but to find new ways of saying old things, or to find old ways of saying new things. This was misinterpreted as willful opacity, or novelty for novelty's sake, but it was neither. Their efforts culminated with the compilation of the *Shin Kokinshū,* the foundational poetic text of what is now known as medieval Japanese literature.

The core of Teika's poetic practice was the *hyakushu,* a sequence of one hundred poems on assigned topics. It was the purest test of a poet's skill and imagination. He wrote waka in other contexts too—for various occasions, as exercises, or as part of small contests or gatherings. In his later years, it was renga, not waka, that gave him the

most satisfaction but, unfortunately, very few of the links he wrote are extant, and no full sessions have been preserved. A few *kanshi* survive, but there is not much to recommend them.

Another channel for Teika's literary energies late in life, after he was no longer interested in composing waka, was the acquisition, copying by hand, and editing of classical Japanese and Chinese texts. Of course, this included the poetic canon: he copied out the *Kokinshū* numerous times, sometimes giving away the copies as gifts. But his appetite was voracious: he borrowed old court diaries, classical Chinese texts, historical records, and more. For decades he lacked a copy of *The Tale of Genji,* a strange situation for someone who cherished the literary past and alluded to the tale in his own poetry. Copying texts was no mere avocation. His archive made him indispensable to fellow courtiers wishing to learn more about the history of the institutions they ran, and the obligation he incurred by borrowing a text could be recouped many times over by lending out his own personal copy, or making a copy for someone else. Finally, copying texts was a religious act. As a devout Tendai Buddhist, Teika venerated the written word in the form of the sūtras, above all the *Lotus Sūtra* in its classical Chinese translation. He copied the *Lotus* many times in his lifetime, as an act of piety but also, one speculates, as a kind of private therapy.

Besides poems, Teika wrote about poetry and compiled various collections of exemplary verse. The precise parameters of his theoretical oeuvre are still under debate. By beginning with the texts with the firmest attributions, we can propose a consistent core of beliefs and ideals before moving on to disputed texts. The picture that emerges is of someone who is reluctant to make broad pronouncements about the nature and function of poetry, but still has strong opinions that come to the fore mainly in specific contexts of critiquing individual verses. For these reasons, among others, I am unconvinced by attribution to Teika of texts such as *Maigetsushō* and *Teika jittei,* which were largely regarded as authentic in the premodern period and are still thought authentic today by some scholars. Not only is the evidence for these attributions flimsy, but their detailed, schematic understanding of style runs at odds to what we see in the texts whose authorship is undisputed. In poetics as well as poetry, Teika preferred a mode of expression in which "the words are too few, and the meaning is too much."

The Tale of Matsura is supposed to be only one of "many" tales that Teika wrote. If only the others had survived! This little gem of

the *monogatari* genre bears the marks of an exercise or a game, but its fervent admiration for the world of Tang China and its erudition set it apart from other works in the subgenre of tales set in China and, indeed, in the post-Genji canon of vernacular fiction. Teika traveled very little in the physical sense, but his wide reading, vast personal library, and active imagination took him to worlds and eras unseen. Ancient China became a part of his worldview, an alternate universe with which Teika could compare Japan in his day, and either be disappointed by the shortcomings of the current age or use the past analogically to interpret the present. He was biliterate; he read and wrote documents in Chinese as part of his public official duties and in his personal religious practice. There is no discernible break between Chinese and Japanese, except, of course, his far greater facility in his native language.

Like most courtiers of his day whose diaries have survived, Teika wrote—daily it seems—in a series of scrolls spanning several decades that he recopied and edited late in life and which are now known as *Meigetsuki.* What sets them apart from the diaries of others is their admission of the writer's personal life into the typically dry narratives of court events, rituals, and machinations. We get occasional glimpses of the writer as a disgruntled and disillusioned idealist, a desperate climber, a rich man pleading poverty, a perennial complainer. He was all of these things, but also a personality endowed with genuine humility despite his abundant gifts, and with a powerful curiosity about the world around him.

With the *Meigetsuki,* the literary works bring us back to the life again, the translucent, fragmentary life. Even though we know more about Teika than perhaps any of his contemporaries, what do we really know relative to the fullest, most accurate understanding possible? Only about a third of his diary is extant, and many of the most important events are missing. Ultimately, and not happily or by design, the meaning is too great and the words are too few.

Notes

Introduction

1. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 1336. See Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo, eds., *Shin kokin wakashū,* vol. 11, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), p. 391. All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

2. Robert H. Brower, trans., *Conversations with Shōtetsu* (*Shōtetsu monogatari*) (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992), p. 99.

3. Ibid., p. 147.

4. Ibid., p. 33.

5. Ibid., p. 61.

6. Robert H. Brower, "The Reizei Family Documents," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 445–461.

Chapter One: A Documentary Biography

1. In preparing this extended sketch, I have relied most heavily on the standard biography of Teika, Murayama Shūichi, *Fujiwara no Teika* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), and on various chronologies of Teika's life that appear in Murayama (pp. 376–400); Ishida Yoshisada, *Fujiwara no Teika no kenkyū,* rev. ed. (Tokyo: Bungadō Shoten, 1969), pp. 693–743; Kubota Jun, ed., *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 375–455; and, especially, Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, ed., *Meigetsuki kenkyū teiyō* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2006), pp. 71–169. In English, see "Fujiwara no Teika," the entry by Roselee Bundy in Steven D. Carter, *Medieval Japanese Writers,* vol. 203, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group, 1999), pp. 42–57.

2. *Meigetsuki,* Antei 1.11.11 (1227). See Kokusho Kankōkai, ed., *Meigetsuki* (1911–1912; repr. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1969), vol. 3, p. 65.

3. *Meigetsuki,* Jishō 4.2.14 (1180). See Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Jishō 4-nen) o yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 4 (November 1999): 6–7.

4. *Gozen no kokoromi.* On the evening of the second day of the tiger in the eleventh month, the emperor would summon the Gosechi dancers to the veranda

of the Seiryōden Hall, and watch their performance. In this year, that day fell on the 23rd.

5. *Gyokuyō,* Bunji 1.11.25 (1185). See Kokusho Kankōkai, ed., *Gyokuyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1916–1917), vol. 3, p. 118.

6. Gomi Fumihiko, *Fujiwara no Teika no jidai: chūsei bunka no kūkan* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), pp. 47–48.

7. See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 517.

8. *Senzaishū*, nos. 1158, 1159. See Katano Tatsuno and Matsuno Yōichi, eds., *Senzai wakashū,* vol. 10, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), pp. 346–347.

9. *Meigetsuki,* Kangi 2.7.16. See Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Kangi 2-nen 7-gatsu) o yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 6 (November 2001): 21–24. On the relation between the Kujō and Mikohidari families, see Kanō Shigefumi, "Kanezane, Yoshitsune to Teika: Kujō-ke to Mikohidari-ke," *Joshidai Kokubun* 126 (December 1999): 1–21.

10. *Shin Kokinshū* 788. See Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo, eds., *Shin kokin wakashū,* vol. 11, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), p. 235.

11. See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, pp. 468–470.

12. *Meigetsuki,* Tenpuku 1/Jōei 2.2.13 (1233). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 334.

13. Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 122.

14. The births of these girls do not appear in *Meigetsuki;* rather the dates of their birth are calculated based on their ages at the time they simultaneously took holy orders in 1233. See *Meigetsuki,* Tenpuku 1.9.23 in Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, pp. 389–390.

15. For more on the Kujō's fall from power, see Robert N. Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 36–44.

16. For a chart of all his children, see Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, *Meigetsuki kenkyū teiyō,* genealogical chart no. 2 following p. 196.

17. *Meigetsuki,* Kenkyū 8.12.5 (1197). See Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2012), p. 98.

18. Higuchi Yoshimaro and Kuboki Tetsuo, eds., *Matsuranomiya monogatari, Mumyō zōshi* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), p. 257. For another English translation, see Michele Marra, trans., "*Mumyōzōshi,* Part 3," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 418.

19. An annotated translation of Teika's contribution with extensive background on the event may be found in Robert H. Brower, *Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-Poem Sequence of the Shoji Era, 1200* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1978). For a complete translation of Shunzei's letter, see Huey, *Making of Shinkokinshū,* pp. 405–412.

20. Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 149, no. 967.

21. Ibid., p. 141, no. 906.

22. A photographic facsimile of the autograph version of this part of *Meigetsuki,* which was separated from the main text some centuries ago, along with a transliteration, extensive annotations, translations, and commentary, may be found in Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan and Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, eds., *Kokuhō Kumano gokōki* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2009).

23. Huey's *Making of Shinkokinshū* is a thorough study of the events that occurred before, during, and after the process of compiling the anthology. It discusses the reestablishment of the Poetry Bureau on pages 111–120.

24. Compilers of imperial waka anthologies avoided poems that had already been included in previous anthologies. The compilers of the *Kokinshū* erroneously treated the *Man'yōshū* as if it were an imperial anthology, and did not select poems that had appeared in it. Subsequent compilers followed this precedent until it was broken by the compilers of the *Shin Kokinshū,* who correctly regarded *Man'yōshū* as a non-imperial anthology.

25. See Jin'ichi Konishi, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900–1350," translated and adapted by Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (December 1958): 67–127.

26. See Roselee Bundy, "*Santai Waka:* Six Poems in Three Modes," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 197–227 and 49:3 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 261–286, for a translation and study of "a text that discloses in miniature the nature of the Shinkokin style" (Part 1, p. 198).

27. See Huey, *Making of Shinkokinshū,* pp. 193–221.

28. Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, p. 543.

29. See ibid., vol. 1, pp. 571–574; Huey, *Making of Shinkokinshū,* pp. 312–321.

30. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 1. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 20.

31. *Meigetsuki,* Kenryaku 1.9.7. See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 108.

32. *Meigetsuki,* Kenpō 1.11.8 (1213). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 328.

33. Inoue Muneo, ed., *Chūsei wakashū,* vol. 49, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), p. 90.

34. Meigetsuki, Kenryaku 3.5.16 (1213). See Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Kenryaku 3-nen 5-gatsu) o yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 9 (December 2004): 36–38.

35. For an annotated English translation, critical introduction, and commentary, see Roselee Bundy, "Solo Poetry Contest as Poetic Self-Portrait: *The One-Hundred-Round Contest of Lord Teika's Own Poems,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 1–58 and 61:2 (Summer 2006), pp. 131–192.

36. For a detailed study of this project, see Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 168–221.

37. See Robert H. Brower, trans., "'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings': *Go-Toba no in Gokuden,*" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 32 (1972): 5–70.

38. *Meigetsuki,* Ken'ei 1.7.3 (1206). See Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, p. 636.

39. *Meigetsuki,* Kenryaku 2.2.2 (1212). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 145.

40. *Meigetsuki,* Kenpō 1.11.8 (1213). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 243.

41. Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 437. The original is in Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Shūi gusō ge, Shūi gusō ingai, Shunzei Teika eisō, kohitsu dankan,* vol. 8, *Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), pp. 236–237. This preface and poems are part of a section of the text that was written on a separate sheet of paper in someone else's handwriting, then pasted into the book. All the poems and prefaces from this sheet were dated Jōkyū 2; there are other pasted-in sheets (*oshigami*), as well. Reizei Tameomi believed that this sheet was in the hand of Teika's grandson Tamesuke, but Kubota Jun said that it was written by someone of a much later generation; Fujimoto Kōichi proposed Reizei Tamehisa. See Kubota Jun, "Kaidai," in *Shūi gusō jō, chū,* ed. Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1993), pp. 13–14.

42. On Teika and renga, see the commentary by Tabuchi Kumiko in Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Karoku 3-nen 3-gatsu) o yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 2 (November 1997): 61–63.

43. *Meigetsuki,* Kennin 3.2.13–14 (1203). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, pp. 292–294.

44. Hotta Yoshie, *Teika Meigetsuki shishō, zoku-hen* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1996), pp. 117–136.

45. *Meigetsuki,* Karoku 1.2.16 (1225). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 411. Tanaka Hiroki proposes that the willow poem draws on the scandalous affair between Kashiwagi and the Third Princess in Genji. See his *Chūsei zenki no kasho to kajin* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2008), pp. 617–645.

46. The information above is derived from the chronology in Meigetsuki kenkyūkai, *Meigetsuki kenkyū teiyō,* which is in turn based largely on entries from *Meigetsuki* and on the colophons of extant copies.

47. *Meigetsuki,* Karoku 1.2.16 (1225). See Kokushō Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 401.

48. Endō Tamaki, "Karoku nenchū no Fujiwara no Teika: 'Meigetsuki' Karoku 2-nen-ki shihai monjo o tōshite," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 10 (December 2005): 155–156.

49. All of the information in this paragraph comes from a commentary by Tabuchi Kumiko titled "Teika and renga" in Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, "*Meigetsuki* (Karoku 3-nen 3-gatsu) o yomu," pp. 61–63.

50. *Meigetsuki,* Tenpuku 1.10.11 (1233). See Kokushō Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 399.

51. *Meigetsuki*, Katei 1.3.12 (1235). Kokushō Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 452. All the preceding information comes from Ivo Smits, "The Poet and the Politician: Teika and the Compilation of the *Shin chokusenshū,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 427–472.

52. *Meigetsuki,* Katei 1.5.27 (1235). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 465.

53. For a reception history, both literary and visual, of the anthology, see Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The "Hyakunin Isshu" in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

54. For a typeset version, see Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1972–73), vol. 3, pp. 362–367.

55. See Zaidan Hōjin Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Godai kan'yō, Teika kagaku* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1996).

56. See Yoshikai Naoto, "Reizei-ke-bon Hyakunin shūka no honbun ni tsuite" in *Hyakunin isshu kenkyū shūsei,* suppl. vol. 1, *Hyakunin isshu chūshakusho sōkan,* ed. Ōtsubo Toshikinu, Kamijō Shōji, Shimazu Tadao, and Yoshikai Naoto (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2003), pp. 267–279.

57. For a typeset edition of *Hachidaishū,* see Higuchi Yoshimaro, ed., *Teika Hachidaishō,* 2 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).

58. Ariyoshi Tamotsu, "*Hyakunin isshu Sōgi shō* ni tsuite: sono chosha o ronji *Hyakunin isshu* no senja ni oyobu," in *Hyakunin isshu kenkyū shūsei,* suppl. vol. 1, *Hyakunin isshu chūshakusho sōkan,* ed. Ōtsubo Toshikinu, Kamijō Shōji, Shimazu Tadao, and Yoshikai Naoto (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2003), p. 46. Ariyoshi cites previous studies by Kazamaki Keijirō and Kyūsojin Hitaku.

59. Details on the memorial and its author are from Satō Tsuneo, *Fujiwara no Tameie kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2008), pp. 811–831. The text also appears in Tsuji Hikosaburō, *Fujiwara no Teika Meigetsuki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977), p. 31, and in Takeuchi Rizō, ed., *Kamakura ibun* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1971–1991), vol. 8, p. 309–310, no. 5935, but Satō cautions that both of these versions are based on an earlier typeset edition that contained errors. His article presents photographs of the autograph kanbun text, a new transliteration, a translation into classical Japanese (*kundoku*), and a detailed commentary.

60. Apparently an allusion but the source is unclear.

61. His father, Fujiwara no Toshinari (Shunzei, 1114–1204); grandfather Toshitada (1073–1123); great-grandfather Tadaie (1033–1091); and great-great-grandfather Nagaie (1005–1064), founder of the Mikohidari lineage and sixth son of Michinaga (966–1028).

62. A Chinese monk of the Sanlun school, Jizang (549–623) wrote numerous works, including commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*. His biography in *Continuation of 'The Biographies of Eminent Monks'* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan,* ca. 645) says that in the middle of writing he dropped his brush and died; the passage he was writing included this phrase. *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, text no. 2060, p. 515, line 4. From SAT Daizōkyō Text Database, 2012 edition, http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/ (accessed November 19, 2015).

63. By 1241 Tameie (1198–1275) had served Emperors Tsuchimikado (r. 1198–1210), Juntoku (r. 1210–1221), Chūkyō (r. 1221), Go-Horikawa (r. 1221–1232), and Shijō (r. 1232–1242).

64. The highest court rank attained by Nagaie and Tadaie was Senior Second; Tadaie's son Toshitada reached only Junior Third, and Shunzei Senior Third. Teika was the first to recover Senior Second, at age sixty-six in 1227. Tameie received it in 1238, at the relatively early age of forty-one, and held that rank at Teika's death.

65. Satō, *Fujiwara no Tameie kenkyū,* pp. 814–815.

Chapter Two: The Bodhidharma Style

1. See Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History,* trans. James W. Heisig and Paul Knitter (New York: Macmillan, 1988–1990), vol. 1, *India and China,* pp. 85–94.

2. See Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History,* vol. 2, *Japan,* pp. 7–14; Bernard Faure, "The Daruma-shū, Dōgen, and Sōtō Zen," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 25–55. Faure remarks in a note (p. 26, no. 2) that the Daruma-shū "seems to have also influenced Japanese poetry, judging from the role of the vogue of the so-called *Daruma-uta,*" but this is not the case. "Daruma-uta" was a pejorative term used by rivals of the Mikohidari poets to smear Teika and his allies; it was rejected by both sides. There is no evidence that the Daruma-shū, or any other Zen group, influenced the composition at waka at court during the time the Daruma-uta epithet was used.

Nōnin made for a poor patriarch, as he never traveled to China and never directly obtained transmissions of the teachings from another master. In fact, Eisai drew a distinction between the Daruma school of Nōnin, which he rejected, and Zen. See *Kōzen gokokuron* (1198), cited and translated in Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism,* vol. 2, p. 9.

3. *Shūgyokushū,* no. 2922. Last in a series of nine poems about nine schools of Buddhism. See Taga Munehaya, ed., *Kōhon Shūgyokushū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1971), p. 301. *Shinpen kokka taikan* has the same version, but Matsumura Yūji gives *satoru beshi / kokoroetsureba / kokoroenu / kokoro o eneba / mata kokoroezu* (Realize this: / When you understand, you do not understand, / and when you do not understand it, / you do not understand, either), which makes more sense as a satire of the Bodhidharma school. See Matsumura, "Teika: Daruma-uta o megutte," in *Shin kokinshū to sono jidai*, ed. Waka bungaku ronshū

henshū iinkai (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1991), p. 270. On the other hand, the illogical wording in the version given by Taga may have been intended as a performative parody of Zen reasoning.

4. On Shukaku, see Brian O. Ruppert, "Dharma Prince Shukaku and the Esoteric Buddhist Culture of Sacred Works (*Shōgyō*) in Medieval Japan," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia,* ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik Sørensen, and Richard Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 794–800.

5. The most thorough consideration of the *daruma-uta* in English to date appears in Roselee Bundy, "The Uses of Tradition: The Poetry and Poetics of the *Shinkokinshū*" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984), pp. 205–222.

6. See Kubota Jun, "Kaidai," In *Shūi gusō jō, chū,* ed. Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1993), pp. 1–36.

7. Kubota, ed., *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1985), vol. 2, p. 111. The version of *Shūi gusō ingai no zōka* that appears in the Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho ends precisely where these remarks begin. See Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Shūi gusō ge, Shūi gusō ingai, Shunzei Teika eisō, kohitsu dankan,* vol. 9, Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), p. 409. It is believed to have been copied in the late Muromachi period (that is, sixteenth century) and bears a colophon stated that the text was copied from Teika's original in Katei 3.9.23 (1237). See Kubota, "Kaidai," p. 8. Following the research of Kanechiku Nobuyuki, Kubota (p. 28) suggests that the preface to *Horikawa hyakushu* was omitted from later versions of the text because it contained praise for Go-Toba, who was in exile.

8. In English, see Roselee Bundy, "Poetic Apprenticeship: Fujiwara Teika's *Shogaku Hyakushu,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 45, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 157–188.

9. For a detailed exegesis of *shingi hikyo,* see Tsujimori Shūei, "Shingi hikyo daruma-uta no igi ni tsuite," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 35, no. 7 (March 1967): 25–31. Tsujimura cites passages from *Meigetsuki,* Kanezane's diary *Gyokyuyō,* and other sources in an attempt to discern what the term *hikyo* might have meant, but misses a telling usage by Kenshō, who is much more likely to have used the phrase in reference to Teika's poetry—in fact, he may very well have originated it. In Kenshō's rejoinder to the judgments of *Roppyakuban utaawase,* he closes his appeal to an unnamed authority (probably Yoshitsune) by wondering whether such an act was unprecedented (*hikyo*), but cites previous cases to reassure himself and the recipient. See Kubota Jun and Yamaguchi Akio, eds., *Roppyakuban utaawase* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), p. 482.

10. Watanabe Yasuaki, Kobayashi Kazuhiko, and Yamamoto Hajime, eds., *Karon kagaku shūsei* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2006), vol. 7, p. 236. For a complete translation of this text, see Hilda Katō, "The *Mumyōshō,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, nos. 3–4 (1968): 351–430. Katō's translation is based on a typeset edition of the original in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 35–98.

11. Watanabe, Kobayashi, and Yamamoto, *Karon kagaku shūsei,* vol. 7, p. 238.

12. Ibid., p. 241.

13. Asukai Masachika, *Akaishū,* no. 656. See Shinpen Kokkai Taikan Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Shinpen Kokka taikan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983–1992), vol. 8, p. 284.

14. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 420. See Tanaka and Akase, eds. *Shin kokin wakashū, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), vol. 11, p. 132.

15. *Kokinshū,* no. 689. Love, Anonymous. See Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, eds., *Kokin wakashū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), p. 211. Regarding this poem Teika wrote, "This verse is also unclear. When he was a child my late father had the story called 'The Maiden of the Bridge' read to him by his wet nurse, and was moved to tears. When he came of age he wanted to read it but was unable to find the tale. Then someone told him of this poem." See *Kenchū mikkan,* in Kyūsojin Hitaku, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei bekkan* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1958–1997), vol. 5, p. 228.

16. Jien's poem is in *Roppyakuban utaawase,* no. 1052. See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 367.

17. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 1618. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 472. Composed in 1202.2, for *Rōnyaku gojisshu utaawase.*

18. Narihira's poem is *Shin chokusenshū,* no. 942; the source is *Ise monogatari,* sec. 15. Jien's poems are *Shūgyokushū* nos. 2460, 2999, 3449, 6094. See Taga, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū.*

19. *Ariake* refers to the presence (*ari*) of the setting moon at dawn (*ake*), that is, during the moon's waning phase. *Ariake no tsuki* refers specifically to the moon at that time. *Tsuki no ariake* seems to add nothing to the phrase *ariake* except emphasize the presence of the moon.

20. Examples by contemporary poets include two poems by Jien. See Taga, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū,* nos. 4263, 4914.

21. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 174. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin Kokin wakashū,* p. 66.

22. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Karonshū* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971), Chūsei no bungaku series, vol. 1, p. 284. Teika's son Tameie appears to be referring to this passage when he writes, "One master of old said that . . . people are fond of putting expressions like 'the floating wind' and 'the first clouds' into their poems, whereas they ought to say 'the floating clouds' and 'the first wind.' Unable to think of a new and unusual conception, they produce outlandish phrases instead, constructing a verse out of such senseless errors as these—a truly fruitless undertaking. That is why poetry goes into decline." Robert H. Brower, trans., "The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition: Fujiwara Tameie's *Eiga no Ittei,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 415.

23. Hisamatsu, *Karonshu,* vol. 1, p. 280.

24. *Akishino gesseishū,* no. 284. See Katayama Tōru and Kubota Jun, eds., *Rokkashō, Chūsei no bungaku series* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1980), p. 247.

25. For mentions of the three named poets, see Watanabe, Kobayashi, and Yamamoto, *Karon kagaku shūsei,* vol. 7, p. 240.

26. Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1972–1973), vol. 3, pp. 108–109.

27. Watanabe, Kobayashi, and Yamamoto, *Karon kagaku shūsei,* vol. 7, pp. 129–30.

28. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Shinpen kokka taikan,* vol. 5, p. 313. This is the corresponding quote in Shunzei's text; Jōgaku's version is garbled, suggesting he is quoting from memory.

29. *Shūi gusō,* no. 1231. See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 190. For another close reading of the poem, see Nishiki Hitoshi, *Chūsei waka no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1991), pp. 540–543.

30. *Man'yōshū,* no. 912, by Kasa no Kanemura. See Satake Akihiro, Yamada Hideo, Kudō Rikuo, Ōtani Masao, and Yamazaki Yoshiyuki, eds., *Man'yōshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999–2003), vol. 2, p. 19.

31. Translation by Edwin A. Cranston in his *Gem-Glistening Cup,* vol. 1 of *A Waka Anthology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 296, no. 530.

32. For an earlier example of this play on *narasu,* see *Goshūishū* 237 (Autumn I, Fujiwara no Tameyori): *ōkata no / aki kuru kara ni / mi ni chikaku / narasu ōgi no / kaze zo suzushiki* (Just as autumn arrives, / as it does everywhere, / the familiar fan / that I keep close by / rustles in a cool breeze). In Teika's time, it was used also by Princess Shokushi in *Shin Kokinshū* 308 (Autumn 1): *utatane no / asake no sode ni / kawaru nari / narasu ōgi no aki / no hatsukaze* (It changed / in my sleeves / as I dozed at dawn. / The first breeze of autumn / flutters my familiar fan). See notes in Tanaka and Akase, *Shin Kokin wakashū,* p. 103.

33. Translation by Edwin A. Cranston in his *Grasses of Remembrance,* vol. 2, part B, of *A Waka Anthology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 747.

34. Hisamatsu, *Karonshū,* vol. 1, p. 292. I am following Kubota Jun's reading of the first sentence, which is garbled, probably due to a corrupt copy; see ibid., p. 424, no. 5.

35. Kanechiku Nobuyuki, "Kunaichō Shoryōbu-zō *Kyōgoku kōmon-ei gojisshu waka: Jikumono no waka sha* no genkan o fukugen suru," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 77 (June 1982): 17.

36. Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Dainihan Henshū Iinkai and Shōgakukan kokugo jiten henshūbu, eds., *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000–2002), 2nd ed., s.v. "wo."

37. Kanechiku, "Fukugen," p. 17.

38. Kokinshū 914, by Fujiwara no Tadafusa: *kimi o omoi / okitsu no hama ni / naku tazu no / tazunekureba / ari to dani kiku* (When I think fondly of you / and the cranes come / crying to the beach / that faces the offing / I hear only that you are alive.). See Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū,* p. 275.

39. Shin Kokinshū 934. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 281.

40. *Shūgyokushū*, no. 5621. See Taga, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū,* p. 563.

41. Matsumura Yūji offers an alternate reading, involving an elaborate pun on the place-name Koshi, but I find it unconvincing. See his "Teika: Daruma-uta o megutte," pp. 274–275. *Yukidaruma* 'snowman' denotes a figure made of snow that resembles the round dolls painted to look like the legendary monk that are ubiquitous in modern Japan, but I could not find a usage of it that dated to this period.

42. *Shūgyokushū*, no. 5631. See Taga Munehaya, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū,* p. 564. Missing text is supplied from Aoki Kengō, ed., *Fujiwara no Yoshitsune zenkashū to sono kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1976), p. 168.

43. *Shūgyokushū,* nos. 2108 and 2109. Cited in Kubota Jun, *Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), p. 764. See also Taga, *Kōhon Shūgyokushū,* p. 218.

44. Kubota, *Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū,* p. 765.

45. For a text of *Kenchū mikkan,* see Kyūsojin Hitaku, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 1958–1997), suppl. vol. 5, pp. 137–308.

46. *Hyakurenshō*. Kenkyū 5.7.5 (1194). Cited in Matsumura, "Daruma-uta o megutte," p. 268.

47. Jin'ichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature,* vol. 3, *The High Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 307.

48. Kubota, *Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 122. For an introduction to *Roppyakuban utaawase* and analysis of a single topic, see Rose Bundy, "From Painting to Poetry: 'Shiga no yamagoe' in the *Roppyakuban utaawase,*" *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995): 365–379.

49. The comments and judgments are indexed in Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., *Shinkō Roppyakuban utaawase, tsuketari Kenshō chinjō* (Tokyo: Yūseidō Shuppan, 1976), pp. 617–629.

50. *Roppyakuban utaawase*, nos. 909–910. See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* pp. 319–320.

51. See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 319, notes to poem 909.

52. *Roppyakuban utaawase,* nos. 931–932. See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 326.

53. *Roppyakuban utaawase,* nos. 505–506. See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* pp. 186–187. For an alternative translation of this round, see Gian Piero Persiani and Lewis Cook in *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology,* ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 602–603.

54. The original may be found in Abe Akio et al., *Genji monogatari,* vol. 1, p. 357.

55. Ibid., p. 360.

56. Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 99, no. 9. The original text of the round may be found on pp. 99–100.

57. Abe et al., *Genji monogatari,* vol. 1, p. 140, no. 1.

58. Cited in Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 99, note to poem 266.

59. *Kokinshū,* nos. 1007–1008. See Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū,* pp. 307–308.

60. Abe et al., *Genji monogatari,* vol. 1, p. 136.

61. Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 20, no. 7.

62. Ibid., p. 9. For a detailed analysis of this round and the issues at stake, see Fusae Ekida, "A Reception History of the *Man'yōshū*" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2009), pp. 152–162.

63. Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* pp. 215–216. The comment is discussed in Fusae Ekida, "Reception History of the *Man'yōshū,*" p. 157.

64. *Tsurezuregusa,* sec. 137. Translation from Donald Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 118. Emphasis added. For the original, see Satake Akihiro and Kubota Jun, eds., *Hōjōki, Tsurezuregusa* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), pp. 212–217.

65. Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness,* pp. 5, 5–6, 51, 68. See, respectively, *Tsurezuregusa,* secs. 2, 3, 56, 79.

66. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

67. Jeremy F. Lane, *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Introduction* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 146.

68. Bourdieu, *Distinction,* pp. 68–69.

69. Ibid., p. 71.

70. Ibid., p. 68.

71. Translation by Royall Tyler in his *Tale of Genji* (New York: Viking, 2001), vol. 1, p. 135.

72. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 329.

73. *Meigetsuki,* Kenryaku 2.9.25. See Kokushō kankōkai, ed., *Meigetsuki* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911–1912, repr. 1969), vol. 2, p. 183. This and other examples are cited in Ishida Yoshisada, *Fujiwara no Teika no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bungadō Shoten, 1969), rev. ed., pp. 340–341.

74. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Kindai shūka,* in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* vol. 65, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), p. 102.

75. Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 270–271. In Japanese, see also, for example, Tesaki Masao, *Ushin to yūgen* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1985), pp. 3–182; Ishida, *Fujiwara no Teika no kenkyū,* rev. ed., pp. 550–78; and Satō Tsuneo, *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 2001), pp. 424–437.

76. Translated by Brower and Miner in their *Japanese Court Poetry,* p. 271. The original may be found in Kubota, ed., *Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 226, no. 1465.

77. Translated by Robert H. Brower in his "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 410, 412.

78. Various remarks are collected in Nakagawa Hiroo, ed., *Shin chokusen wakashū* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2005), p. 400.

Chapter Three: Teika's Poetics

1. Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Godai kan'yō, Teika kagaku*, vol. 37, *Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1996) provides photographs of twelve texts in the Reizei archive. There is one version of *Maigetsushō* included, but it is not in Teika's hand.

2. In compiling the list of texts, I have consulted a range of primary texts, secondary scholarship, and reference material. The most important sources are Imai Akira, Kanechiku Nobuyuki, Karazawa Masami, and Kusano Takashi, "Fujiwara no Teika chosaku ichiran," in Waka Bungaku Kai, ed., *Ronshū Fujiwara no Teika* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1988), pp. 295–355, and Kamijō Shōji, "Kaidai," in *Godai kan'yō, Teika kagaku,* ed. Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, pp. 3–105.

3. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* vol. 65, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 99–111. For an English translation, see Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, trans., *Fujiwara Teika's "Superior Poems of Our Time": A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967). French translations of *Kindai shūka, Eiga no taigai,* and *Maigetsushō* are included in Michel Vieillard-Baron's study of Teika's poetics, *Fujiwara no Teika, 1162–1241, et la notion d'excellence en poésie: théorie et pratique de la composition dans le Japon classique* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises, 2001).

4. For English translations, see Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition from Earliest Times to 1600,* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 203–204; Hiroaki Satō, trans., *An Outline for Composing Tanka,* in *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry,* ed. Hiroaki Satō and Burton Watson (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), pp. 202–204; and Lewis Cook, trans., "Essentials of Poetic Composition" in *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600,* ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 605–607. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* vol. 65, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 114–115.

5. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Kubota Jun, ed., "*Kyōgoku chūnagon sōgo,*" in *Karonshū,* ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 331–338.

6. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Kubota Jun, ed., *Kinugasa naifu no uta no nanji,* in *Karonshū,* vol. 1, *Chūsei no bungaku* series, ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1971), pp. 287–295.

7. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Nakagawa Hiroo, ed., *Shin chokusen wakashū,* vol. 6, *Waka bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2005), pp. 3–5. Annotated excerpts of the anthology (but not the preface) appear in Inoue Muneo, ed., *Chūsei wakashū,* vol. 49, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), pp. 149–157.

8. For an annotated, typeset edition, see Hirata Hideo, *Mimosusogawa uta-awase, Miyagawa utaawase shinchū* (Tokyo: Seikansha, 2012), pp. 93–175; Inoue Muneo, *Chūsei wakashū,* pp. 51–88.

9. For an annotated, typeset edition and commentary, see Watanabe Yumiko, *Shin kokin jidai no hyōgen hōhō* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2010), pp. 187–256. A photograph of the unnumbered round beginning *yū sareba* 'As night falls' appears in Edward Kamens, "The Past in the Present: Fujiwara Teika and the Traditions of Japanese Poetry," in *Word in Flower: The Visualization of Classical Literature in Seventeenth-Century Japan,* ed. Carolyn Wheelwright (New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989), p. 21.

10. For a typeset edition, see Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Shinpen kokka taikan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983–92), vol. 5, pp. 417–514. Annotated excerpts of Teika's judgments are included in Hagitani Boku and Taniyama Shigeru, eds., *Utaawaseshū,* vol. 74, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), pp. 490–497.

11. For a typeset edition, see Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, *Shinpen kokka taikan,* vol. 5, pp. 534–535; also titled "*Dairi utaawase (Kenpo gannen uruu kugatsu).*"

12. For a typeset edition, see ibid., pp. 535–540.

13. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 574–577.

14. For a typeset edition, see ibid., vol. 10, pp. 243–244, under the title *Hiesha Tomoie jikaawase.*

15. For a typeset edition, see Kawahira Hitoshi, " 'Nagatsuna hyakushu' denpon kō: tsuketari honbun honkoku," *Waka bungaku kenkyū* 33 (September 1975): 24–36. Also see his "Nagatsuna hyakushu: Teika no hyō ni tsuite," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 55 (February 1975): 43–55.

16. For a typeset edition, see Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, *Shinpen kokka taikan,* vol. 10, pp. 149–151. The verso notations are reproduced and discussed in Karasawa Masami, "*Juntoku-in on'hyakushu* no 'uragaki' ni tsuite," *Waka bungaku kenkyū* 49 (September 1984): 34–46.

17. For an English translation, see Robert H. Brower, "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 399–425. Brower based his translation on Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, eds., *Karonshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1975), pp. 511–530. In favor of the authenticity of the text, see Fujita Yuriko, " 'Maigetsushō ni tsuite: sono atesaki to Teika shinsaku toshite no seigōsei," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 772 (June 1988): 27–45. Against it, see Matsumura Yūji, " 'Maigetsushō' shinsakusei e no iwa," in *Waka bungaku no dentō,* ed. Ariyoshi Tamotsu (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1997), pp. 217–234.

18. For a typeset edition, see Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, *Shinpen kokka taikan,* vol. 5, pp. 935–940. English translations of the fifty-eight *yūgen*-style poems may be found in Edwin Cranston, " 'Mystery and Depth' in Japanese Court Poetry," in *The Distant Isle: Studies and Translations in Honor of Robert H. Brower,* ed. Thomas Hare, Robert Borgen, and Sharalyn Orbaugh (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996), pp. 65–104.

19. For typeset editions of the *usagi* texts, see Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1972–1973), vol. 4, pp. 264–361. Unfortunately, the only one that has been annotated to date is *Gukenshō,* annotated by Fukuda Hideichi in Fukuda, Shimazu Tadao, and Itō Masayoshi, eds., *Chūsei hyōronshū: karon, rengaron, nōgakuron,* vol. 24, *Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976), pp. 55–102. Annotated editions of all four texts are due to appear in *Karon kagaku shūsei,* vol. 8, to be published by Miyai Shoten.

20. A copy in the collection of the Reizei family is transcribed in Reizei Tameomi, ed., *Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū* (Tokyo: Bunmeisha, 1940), pp. 497–500. See also Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 4, pp. 380–383.

21. For a typeset edition, see Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 4, pp. 384–385.

22. For a typeset edition, see Kyūsojin Hitaku, *Nihon kagaku taikei bekkan,* vol. 3, pp. 449–477.

23. See Brower, "Foremost Style of Poetic Composition," pp. 415–418.

24. Kubota Jun, "Kaidai (*Kindai shūka*)," in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Karonshū,* vol. 1, p. 36.

25. My translation is based on the edition by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi in Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* pp. 99–112.

26. See Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū,* p. 13.

27. Ibid., p. 14.

28. The original term, *Kanpyō iō,* is problematic. *Iō* can mean either 'before' (*izen*) or 'since' (*igo*). By context it is clear that the former is intended. But does the phrase include the Kanpyō era or exclude it? This is a fundamental ambiguity of *izen,* the English "until," and similar phrases. Brower and Miner translate the phrase as "Kampei [*sic*] and before" (*Superior Poems of Our Time,* p. 44) and Michel Vieillard-Baron gives it as "jusqu'à Kanpyō" ('until Kanpyō,' *Fujiwara no Teika et la notion d'excellence en poésie,* p. 71) in his translation of *Kindai shūka* and as "avant Kanpyō" in his translation of *Maigetsushō* (ibid., p. 114; see also n. 125). The matter is handled thoroughly by Fukuda Hideichi in his "Kanpyō iō no gogi," *Kaishaku* 13, no. 8 (August 1968): 5–10. Fukuda contends that the phrase was intended to include Kanpyō and before, and marshals an impressive array of sources, but sidesteps the biographies of the *kasen,* and does not address the fact that all of the poets Teika mentions (except Sosei) were dead by 889.

29. My translation is based on the edition by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi in Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* pp. 113–124.

30. Adapted from Brower, "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō,*" p. 422. Emphasis added.

31. Adapted from ibid., pp. 411–412.

32. See Hisamatsu, *Karonshū,* vol. 1. It may be observed that Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* is much longer (nearly one hundred pages in the same edition), but we should bear in mind that Shunzei's text includes a large number of exemplary poems as well as substantial historical exposition—and that he essentially tells the entire history of Japanese poetry from earliest times to the time of writing. It was also not written by Teika; the son's texts are far less verbally ornate than the father's. On Shunzei's poetics, see Clifton Wilson Royston Jr., "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204)" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1974).

33. Adapted from Brower, "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō,*" p. 422.

34. For Teika's description of the visit, see *Meigetsuki,* Kennin 1.10.6, in Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan and Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, eds., *Kokuhō Kumano gokōki* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2009), pp. 5, 29.

35. Gomi Fumihiko, *Meigetsuki no shiryōgaku* (Tokyo: Seishi Shuppan, 2000), pp. 136–137.

36. Kawahira, "Nagatsuna hyakushu: Teika no hyō ni tsuite," pp. 43–45.

37. Hisamatsu, ed., *Karonshū,* vol. 1, p. 333.

38. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 335–336.

39. Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 187.

40. *Kokinshū* 502 (Love I), Anonymous: *Aware chō / koto dani naku wa / nani o ka wa / koi no midare no / tsukaneo ni semu.* "If there were / not even such a thing / called wistfulness, / then what sort of twine / would bind my disordered longing?" See Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū,* p. 161.

41. Hisamatsu, *Karonshū,* vol. 1, p. 290, no. 1.

42. Text from Nakagawa, *Shin chokusen wakashū,* pp. 3–6. For another translation, see Ivo Smits, "The Poet and the Politician: Teika and the Compilation of the *Shinchokusenshū,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 442–443.

43. The fullest account of the contest in English appears in Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū,* pp. 193–221.

44. Hagitani and Taniyama, *Utaawase shū*, p. 491.

45. Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū*, p. 13.

46. Hagitani and Taniyama, *Utaawase shū*, pp. 491–492.

47. The poem is by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune. Yoshitsune sponsored the event while he was serving as general of the left imperial bodyguard. Teika later included the poem in the *Shin chokusenshū*. See Nakagawa, *Shin chokusen wakashū*, p. 248, no. 1299.

48. Poem by Go-Toba. The event was sponsored by Minamoto no Michichika, but a complete record of the contest has been lost. The poem appears in Go-Toba's collected poems. Hagitani and Taniyama, *Utaawase shū*, p. 497, no. 20.

49. Ibid., p. 497.

50. The original source of the poem is not known, but a slight variant was included under her name in *Shin kokinshū*, no. 606. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū*, p. 182.

51. Retired Emperor Juntoku in his treatise *Yakumo mishō*. See Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei*, vol. 3, p. 77. Cited in Hagitani and Taniyama, *Utaawase shū*, p. 496, no. 3.

52. *Ise monogatari*, section 123. See Watanabe Minoru, ed., *Ise monogatari* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976), pp. 134–135. The first poem is presented as Narihira's, and the reply as anonymous, in *Kokinshū* nos. 971–972. See Kojima and Arai, *Kokin wakashū*, p. 291.

53. For details, see Karasawa, "*Juntoku-in on'hyakushu* no 'uragaki' ni tsuite."

54. The role of *yōen* in Teika's *Tale of Matsura* is discussed extensively in Wayne P. Lammers, trans., *"The Tale of Matsura": Fujiwara Teika's Experiment in Fiction* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 27–52.

55. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai, *Shinpen kokka taikan,* vol. 10, p. 149, no. 5. Notes 71–74 and 79–83 (p. 150) are also identified by Teika as possessing *yōen*.

56. See, for example, no. 87 (ibid., p. 151).

57. On the differences between Teika's and Go-Toba's critiques of the sequence, see Ōtori Kazuma, "Go-Toba-in to Teika to no uta no kōshō ni tsuite: 'Juntoku-in on'hyakushu' no kahyō o megutte," *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 474–475 (January 2010): 459–477.

58. To be sure, Teika was not completely against the expression of personal emotion in waka: his poem about visiting his mother's former residence a few months after her death was included in *Shin Kokinshū* (no. 788) by his fellow compilers and then by Teika himself in his *Hachidaishū*. Yet, in light of his extraordinary affection for his mother, that too may have been a special case. Perhaps Teika and most of his contemporaries reserved direct experience for the genres of laments and "expression of feelings" (*jukkai*), and refrained from incorporating it into poems on other topics.

Chapter Four: Spirit of Han

1. Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

2. For a study of Teika's poetry in Chinese, see the chapter titled "Teika no kanshi" in Satō Tsuneo, *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 2001), pp. 459–542.

3. *Meigetsuki,* Karoku 2.5.16. Kokusho kankōkai, ed., *Meigetsuki* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911–1912, repr. 1969), vol. 2, p. 504. In translating the lines from *Shang shu* I consulted Onozawa Seiichi, *Shokyo ge,* vol. 26, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1985), pp. 481–484.

4. See Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Shōsho seigi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1943), vol. 3, pp. 207–227.

5. *Meigetsuki,* Karoku 2.10.17. Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, p. 545.

6. *Meigetsuki,* Kangi 1.12.4. Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 146. For an annotated English translation of the "Two Capitals Rhapsody," see David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982–1996), vol. 1, pp. 93–180; for the others, vol. 3, pp. 13–30.

7. *Meigetsuki,* Kangi 1.12.23. Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 150. For an annotated translation of the "Western Metropolis Rhapsody," see Knechtges, *Wen Xuan,* vol. 1, pp. 181–242; for the others, vol. 3, pp. 31–48.

8. For an annotated edition, see Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo, eds., *Shin kokin wakashū,* vol. 11, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), pp. 4–13.

9. *Meigetsuki,* Katei 1.2.21 (1235). Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 458. Cited in Kubota Jun, "*Meigetsuki* ni arawareta Fujiwara no Teika no kansai," *Atarashii kanbun kyōiku* 1 (1985): 52–53.

10. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan,* vol. 3, p. 45.

11. *Meigetsuki,* Karoku 1.4.21. Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 2, pp. 424–426.

12. See, for example, Michele Marra, "The Development of *Mappō* Thought in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15, no. 1 (March 1988): 25–54.

13. *Ima no yo no arisama, mukashi ni nazoraete shirinubeshi.* Kanda Hideo, Nagasumi Yasuaki, and Yasuraoka Kōsaku, eds., *Hōjōki, Tsurezuregusa, Shōbō genzō zuimonki, Tannishō,* vol. 44, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), p. 21.

14. *Meigetsuki,* Bunryaku 1.6.3 (1234). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, p. 415. Translation by Ivo Smits, "The Poet and the Politician: Teika and the Compilation of the *Shinchokusenshū,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 449.

15. Translation based on the transcription in Ōtori Kazuma, "Shin chokusen wakashū," in *Chūsei no waka,* vol. 7, Waka bungaku kōza, ed. Ariyoshi Tamotsu (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1995), p. 74.

16. Ōsone Shōsuke and Horiuchi Hideaki, eds., *Wakan rōeishū, Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei series* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1983), p. 111, no. 287.

17. Translation by J. Thomas Rimer and Jonathan Chaves, *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing: The Wakan rōei shū* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 95.

18. For an annotated edition of the original, see Ōsone Shōsuke, Kinpara Tadashi, and Gotō Akio, eds., *Honchō monzui,* vol. 27, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), pp. 6–10, 129–130.

19. Ibid., pp. 84–86, 334–335. A text by Yoshishige no Yasutane (d. 1002) with the same title also appears in *Honchō monzui,* and was also an important

source for Chōmei. See Donald D. Dong, "*Chiteiki,* by Yoshishige no Yasutane," *Monumenta Nipponica* 26, nos. 3–4 (1971): 445–453.

20. For details, see Smits, "The Poet and the Politician."

21. Yoshida Kenkō, ed., *Shiki 1* (*Honki*), vol. 38, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1973), p. 67.

22. Translation by David R. Knechtges, personal communication, October 23, 2013. *Shinsen rōeishū,* no. 641. See Satō Michio and Yanagisawa Ryōichi, eds., *Wakan rōeishū, Shinsen rōeishū,* vol. 47, *Waka bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2011), p. 460.

23. For an English translation of the entire month's entries, see Paul S. Atkins, "*Meigetsuki,* the Diary of Fujiwara no Teika: Karoku 2.9 (1226)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130, no. 2 (April–June 2010): 235–258. See also Paul S. Atkins, "Amerika no *Meigetsuki:* Haabaado daigaku fuzoku Sakkuraa bijutsukan-zō Karoku 2-nen 9-gatsu bon," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 10 (December 2005): 167–181; and Paul S. Atkins, "Hābādo daigaku shozō *Meigetsuki* (Karoku 2-nen 9-gatsu maki jihitsu-bon) ni tsuite," in *The Artifact of Literature: Japanese Books, Manuscripts & Illustrated Scrolls,* ed. Suzuki Jun and Melissa McCormick (Tokyo: National Institute of Japanese Literature and National Institutes for the Humanities, 2009), pp. 29–38.

24. Burton Watson, trans., *The Tso Chuan: Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 137–138.

25. For a survey of the earlier scholarship and a divergence from the received opinion that the remark was a later interpolation, see Sakurai Yōko, " 'Kōki seijū, wa ga koto ni arazu' saikō: *Meigetsuki* Jishō 4–5-nenki no shosha to kahitsu ni kan suru saikentō," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 4 (November 1999): 114–124.

26. Kubota Jun, "*Meigetsuki* ni arawareta Fujiwara no Teika no kansai."

27. Satō Tsuneo, *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū,* pp. 289–369.

28. See, for example, Muranaka, "Teika no 'hin' no ishiki to 'Mōgyū': 'Genken sōsū' to no kakawari," *Seishin gobun* 5 (August 2003): 73–85. Excerpts from the *Meng qiu* are translated in Burton Watson, trans., *Meng Ch'iu: Famous Episodes from Chinese History and Legend* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1979).

29. Ogawa Takeo, section titled "Teika no Monzen juyō ippan," in Meigetsuki kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Jishō 4–5-nen) o yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 5 (November 2000): 46–47.

30. Yamada Naoko, section titled "Kenryaku 3-nen 5-gatsu jō ni okeru kanseki yurai no hyōgen ni tsuite," in Meigetsuki kenkyūkai, "*Meigetsuki* (Kenryaku 3-nen 5-gatsu) o yomu," pp. 84–87.

31. *Meigetsuki,* Genkyū 2.5.4 (1205). See Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, ed., *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, *Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2012), p. 584. Discussed in Matsumura Yūji, "Teika to Meigetsuki: shi to sanbun to kanbun to," in *Shin Kokinshū to Kanbungaku,* ed. Wa-Kan Hikaku Bungakkai (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1992), p. 235.

32. Muranaka Natsumi, "Teika no 'hin' no ishiki to 'Mōgyū,' " pp. 73–85.

33. Qin Xie, "*Meigetsuki* ni miru Fujiwara no Teika no kanseki juyō," *Kokusai bunkagaku* 13 (September 2005): 137–152.

34. From *Boshi wenji,* no. 480, "Two Poems on Planting Pines" 栽松二首, no. 1. See Okamura Shigeru, ed., *Hakushi monjū* (*2 ge*), vol. 117, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2007), p. 583.

35. From *Boshi wenji,* no. 3540, "Quietly Writing Verses with Wine before Me: Sent to Another Old Man" 対酒閑吟、贈同老者. See Okamura Shigeru, ed., *Hakushi monjū* (*12 jō*), vol. 108, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2010), p. 264.

36. *Meigetsuki,* Kanki 2.12.30 (1230). See Kokusho Kankōkai, *Meigetsuki,* vol. 3, pp. 268–269.

37. There is a daunting triple negative in the remark about his cohort, but if we provisionally presume that the gist of the entire sentence is a complaint, it is not hard to derive the meaning of this part: of the other courtiers who entered the court ranks at the same time of Teika, one or more has equaled or bested him in promotions and appointments.

38. The term was reintroduced into the popular Japanese consciousness during the early 1990s after the collapse of the Japanese financial bubble with the publication of Nakano Kōji's *Seihin no shisō* (The philosophy of unsullied poverty [Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1992]), a best seller that preached the antimaterialistic values of premodern Japan to the post-bubble generation.

39. *Meigetsuki,* Jishō 4.9 (no day; 1180). See Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, p. 23. Emphasis added.

40. *Boshi wenji,* no. 1040. See Okamura Shigeru, ed., *Hakushi monjū* (*4*), vol. 100, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1990), pp. 41–42.

41. For further details on the expedition, see Charles A. Peterson, "Regional Defense against the Central Power: The Huai-hsi Campaign, 815–817," in *Chinese Ways in Warfare,* ed. Frank A. Kierman Jr. and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 123–150.

42. For an alternative explanation, see Sakurai Yōko, "*Seijū* to *seiju: Hakushi monjū, Wakan rōeishū* no shosha juyō kara," *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 5 (November 2000): 87–98.

43. Adapted from the translation by James Legge published online by the Chinese Text Project, http://ctext.org/shang-shu/speech-at-bi (accessed November 19, 2015). Emphasis added. See also Onozawa Seiichi, ed., *Shokyo jō* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1983), p. 353.

44. Transcription from Kubota Jun, *Fujiwara no Teika to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), p. 252. Emphasis added. A copy of this five-volume woodblock edition of *Sandai wakashū* is in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature and may be viewed online (http://www.nijl.ac.jp, call no. 12–250–1/5, accessed August 5, 2016). Another copy is held in the Mitsui Collection at the C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley (call no. 5895.2.0001.1853).

45. The entry for this day in *Azuma kagami* notes the arrival of a dispatch to Kamakura from the capital reporting that Juntoku, Tsuchimikado, and Chūkyō had moved to the Kōyō-in on the fifteenth. William McCullough, "The *Azuma Kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War," *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, nos. 1–2 (1968): 108.

46. Adapted from the translation by James Legge published by the Chinese Text Project, http://ctext.org/shang-shu/punitive-expedition-of-yin (accessed November 19, 2015). Emphasis added. See also Onozawa, *Shokyō ge,* pp. 387–392.

47. Adapted from Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 258. Cited in Philip Tudor Harries, trans., *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1980), p. 37.

48. By "kana," I mean what is now called *hentaigana,* a system with multiple graphic matrices (*jibo* 字母) for each phoneme, not modern hiragana, in which each phoneme is assigned one and only one graphic matrix.

49. Teika's daughter Minbukyō was a lady-in-waiting to Empress Shunkamon-in (1195–1211). Two of the sections of *Meigetsuki* written in kana correspond to dates when she was visiting Teika. Just as Teika would make a fair copy of certain parts of the kanbun *Meigetsuki* as a model for his heir Tameie, Gomi speculates that some of the kana parts were intended for his daughter. Gomi Fumihiko, *Meigetsuki no shiryōgaku,* p. 154. Fujikawa Yoshikazu concludes that Teika used kana in cases when kanbun was inadequate. See his "Reizei-kebon Meigetsuki Tenpuku gannen 10-gatsu ki kanagaki kiji dokkai kō: Teika to mana, kana to o meguru isshiron," *Kokubungaku kō* 182 (June 2004): 27–41.

50. *Meigetsuki,* Genkyū 1.11.30 (1204). This and the following passages from this entry may be found in Reizei-ke Shiguretei Bunko, *Honkoku Meigetsuki,* vol. 1, pp. 543–544.

51. For more detail, see Carolyn Miyuki Wheeler, "Fleeting Is Life: Kengozen and Her Early Kamakura Court Diary, *Tamakiwaru*" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008). An edition of *Tamakiwaru* appears in Misumi Yōichi, ed., *Towazugatari, Tamakiwaru,* vol. 50, Shin *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994).

52. See Jacqueline I. Stone, "With the Help of 'Good Friends': Deathbed Ritual Practices in Early Medieval Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism,* ed. Jacqueline I. Stone and Mariko Namba Walker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), pp. 61–101.

53. Takizawa Yūko, "Meigetsuki Shunzei shibō kiji no sakui: kanbun nikki no bungakusei e no isshiron," *Dōshisha kokubungaku* 55 (December 2001): 17–18.

54. Ishida Yoshisada, "*Meigetsuki* to Fujiwara no Shunzei no shi," *Gakuen* 359 (November 1969): 29.

55. Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 293–294.

56. Translations are based on transcriptions in Fujikawa Yasushi, "Reizeike-bon 'Meigetsuki' Tenpuku gannen jūgatsu-ki kanagaki kiji dokkai kō," pp. 27–41.

57. Marra, "*Mumyōzōshi,* Part 3," p. 418. For an annotated edition of the original text, see Higuchi Yoshimaro and Kuboki Tetsuo, eds., *Matsuranomiya monogatari, Mumyō zōshi,* vol. 40, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999).

58. For a discussion of issues of authorship, see Wayne P. Lammers, trans.,*"The Tale of Matsura": Fujiwara Teika's Experiment in Fiction* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 173–192.

59. Ibid., p. 162. For another translation of the poem, see Burton Watson, trans., *Po Chü-i: Selected Poems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 104.

60. See Okamura Shigeshi, *Hakushi monjū 2* (*ge*), pp. 859–860.

61. Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* p. 162.

62. Higuchi and Kubota, *Matsuranomiya monogatari, Mumyō zōshi,* p. 139, no. 22.

63. Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* pp. 157, 162.

64. For an English translation of *Utsuho,* see Ziro Uraki, trans., *The Tale of the Cavern* (Tokyo: Shinozaki Shorin, 1984); for *Hamamatsu,* see Thomas H. Rohlich, trans., *A Tale of Eleventh-Century Japan: Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

65. Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* p. 118.

66. For example, on one occasion Teika accompanied Go-Toba to his palace at Minase and was ordered to house a dancing girl in his lodgings. Instead, he borrowed a hut and had her sleep there. *Meigetsuki* Kennin 2.7.19 (1202). See Meigetsuki kenkyūkai, ed., "*Meigetsuki* (Kennin 2-nen 7-gatsu) o yomu," *Bungaku* 6, no. 4 (Autumn 1995): 14–15.

67. Ujitada's father is forty-six; his mother, thirty-four (Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* pp. 71–72). Shunzei was born in 1114. The year of birth of Teika's mother, Kaga, is unknown, but she bore a son, Takanobu, to her first husband in 1142. If, hypothetically, she were seventeen at the time, her year of birth would have been 1126, twelve years after Shunzei.

68. Nakamaro and Makibi accompanied a Japanese embassy to Tang China in 717. Nakamaro became a Chinese official and died in Chang'an more than half a century later. Makibi became the subject of an illustrated handscroll in which he successfully parried attempts by his hosts to humiliate and murder him. On the connection between Makibi and *Matsura,* see Kuboki Takao, "Kibi no Makibi den to *Matsuranomiya monogatari:* eden kara monogatari e," *Nihon bungaku* 47, no. 5 (May 1998): 60–68.

69. On *yōen,* see Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* pp. 27–54. The connection between *yūgen* and the "Rhapsody of Gaotang" appears as early as the apocryphal poetic treatise *Gukenshō.* See Fukuda Hideichi, Shimazu Tadao, and Itō

Masayoshi, eds., *Chūsei hyōronshū,* vol. 24, *Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976), pp. 67–68.

70. Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* p. 139.

71. Ibid., p. 73.

72. Ibid., p. 74.

73. Ibid., p. 77.

74. Ibid., p. 80.

75. Ibid., p. 82.

76. Ibid., p. 103.

77. Ibid., p. 121.

78. Ibid., p. 122.

79. Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), pp. 42–43.

80. Adapted from Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* p. 122.

81. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan,* vol. 3, p. 341. For an annotated edition of the original passage, see Takahashi Tadahiko, ed., *Monzen* (*fu-hen*) *ge,* vol. 81, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2001), p. 354.

82. Lammers, *The Tale of Matsura,* p. 159.

83. David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

84. Ibid., p. 15.

85. Ibid., p. 230.

86. Sakaki, *Obsessions,* p. 22.

87. Ibid., p. 47.

88. Satō Tsuneo, *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū,* pp. 207–227.

Chapter Five: Teika after Teika

1. Dating from the completion of *Man'yōshū chūshaku* (Commentary on *Man'yōshū*), completed by the Tendai monk Sengaku (b. 1203) in 1269.

2. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, eds., *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

3. Richard Bowring, "The *Ise monogatari:* A Short Cultural History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 2 (December 1992): 401–480; Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The "Hyakunin Isshu" in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996); Anne Commons, *Hitomaro: Poet as God* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). See also Stephen D. Miller, ed., *Issues of Canonicity and Canon Formation in Japanese Literary Studies,* vol. 1, *Proceedings of the Association of Japanese Literary Studies* (West Lafayette, IN: Association for Japanese Literary Studies, 2000); Fusae Ekida, "A Reception History of the *Man'yōshū*" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2009); and Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of*

Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

4. Yasuda Ayao, *Fujiwara no Teika kenkyū,* rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1975); Gotō Bijutsukan, ed., *Teika-yō /Teika: The Stylistic Legacy of a Master Calligrapher* (Tokyo: Gotō Bijutsukan, 1987).

5. Translation from Robert H. Brower, trans., "'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings': *Go-Toba no in Gokuden,*" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 32 (1972): 33. Brower's base text appears in Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nishio Minoru, eds., *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* vol. 65, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961).

6. See Kubota Jun and Yamaguchi Akio, eds., *Roppyakuban utaawase,* vol. 38, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), p. 251. On the other hand, Shōtetsu cites this poem as an exemplar of Teika's love poetry, praising it for having fully embraced the topic without ever mentioning it. See Robert H. Brower, trans., *Conversations with Shōtetsu* (*Shōtetsu monogatari*), with notes and an introduction by Steven D. Carter (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 99–100.

7. Brower, "Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings," pp. 34–35.

8. Ibid., p. 35.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 38.

11. The poem was included in the *Shin Kokinshū*, no. 1454: *haru wo hete / miyuki ni naruru / hana no kage / furiyuku mi wo mo / aware to ya omou* (Shade of blossoms / favored by imperial visits / spring after spring / Do you take pity / on this one who grows old?). See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 423.

12. Brower, "Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings," p. 40.

13. Ibid., p. 41.

14. Ibid. The original is from Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* p. 150. Emphasis added.

15. For further information in English, see James G. Wagner, "The *Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu Shū:* Introduction and Partial Translation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 1–27; and Philip Tudor Harries, trans., *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1980).

16. Kubota Jun, ed., *Kenreimon'in Ukyō daibu shū, Towazugatari,* vol. 47, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), p. 163.

17. Nos. 842 and 1098. See Nakagawa, *Shin chokusen wakashū,* pp. 161, 207.

18. *Jikkinshō* 1:36, in Asami Kazuhiko, ed., *Jikkinshō,* vol. 51, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), pp. 79–80. This anecdote is preceded by others in which a protagonist anticipates a difficult situation and makes advance preparations. The poem is *Shūi gusō*, no. 696. See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 104.

19. Later ten poems by each poet were selected for a poetry match, judged by Shunzei. See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 94.

20. *Ima monogatari,* no. 40. See Kubota Jun, Ōshima Takako, Fujiwara Sumiko, and Matsuo Ashie, eds., *Ima monogatari, Takafusa shū, Tōsai zuihitsu* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1979), pp. 157–158.

21. *Shin chokusenshū,* no. 375. See Nakagawa, *Shin chokusen wakashū,* p. 74.

22. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 620. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 186.

23. Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 4, p. 290.

24. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 312. *Ason (asomi)* is translated as "Lord" here because it appears after the family name but before the given name, by custom indicating (accurately or otherwise) that the bearer held the third rank or higher.

25. Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 340–341, 353. In Part I, Tamezane's signature is dated Einin 3 (1295); in Part II, Einin 2 (1294). Based on the dates of the other colophons, the years should match; one or the other is erroneous.

26. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 361.

27. Ibid., pp. 355, 356.

28. Ibid., p. 264.

29. Ibid., p. 274. Brower and Miner also relay this picturesque anecdote, citing Shinkei's *Sasamegoto* as their source, but Shinkei's source was probably the *Kirihioke* forgery. See Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 257; Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, trans., *Murmured Conversations: A Treatise on Poetry and Buddhism by the Poet-Monk Shinkei* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), pp. 71, 250, no. 1.

30. See Brower, "Fujiwara Tameie's *Eiga no Ittei,*" pp. 391–429.

31. Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 4, p. 360.

32. Cited partially in *Guhishō,* Part I. See ibid., p. 296. The full poem is given in Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 374, no. 2289.

33. For broader perspectives on this phenomenon, see Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002); Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds., *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion* (London: Routledge, 2006); and Maki Isaka Morinaga, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts: "Secret Transmission" as a Mode of Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

34. For further details on this motif, see Kōji Kawamoto, *The Poetics of Japanese Verse: Imagery, Structure, Meter,* trans. Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins, and Gustav Heldt (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000), pp. 1–44.

35. Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 3, p. 411.

36. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 38. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 30.

37. See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 254, no. 1638.

38. Ibid., p. 500, no. 1638.

39. Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 3, pp. 68–69.

40. The renga treatise *Chōtanshō* (Commentary on merits and demerits, ca. 1390) by Asayama Bontō (b. 1349, also called Bontō-an) repeats the accusation that the "haru no yo" poem is guilty of *ranshibyō.* See Ijichi Tetsuo, ed., *Rengaron shū jō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1943), p. 148.

41. *Tsurezuregusa,* sec. 139. See Kanda, Nagasumi, and Yasuraoka, *Hōjōki, Tsurezuregusa, Shōbō genzō zuimonki, Tannishō,* p. 194.

42. *Tsurezuregusa,* sec. 238. See Kanda, Nagasumi, and Yasuraoka, *Hōjōki, Tsurezuregusa, Shōbō genzō zuimonki, Tannishō,* p. 266.

43. Steven D. Carter, *Householders: The Reizei Family in Japanese History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), pp. 133–135.

44. Mimura Terunori, Takanashi Motoko, Sasaki Takahiro, Yamamoto Tokurō, and Inada Toshinori, eds., *Karon kagaku shūsei* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2001), vol. 11, p. 49.

45. Ibid., p. 58.

46. Ibid., p. 61.

47. Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* p. 61. For the original, see Hisamatsu and Nishio, *Karonshū, nōgakuronshū,* p. 166.

48. Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* pp. 62–63.

49. In her reception history of Hitomaro, Anne Commons suggests that the practice may date from as early as 1242, the first anniversary of Teika's death, when a portrait of Teika was displayed at a memorial service sponsored by Retired Emperor Juntoku. But such services were not uncommon, and one would want to see a sustained series of annual events before deeming this the origin of the practice. See Commons, *Hitomaro,* p. 123.

50. Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* pp. 62–63, no. 10.

51. Other instances of lavish praise for "akeba mata," usually from the mouth of Ietaka, appear in *Waka kūdenshō,* a treatise falsely attributed to Ietaka and probably written in the late Kamakura period (Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei,* vol. 4, p. 390); *Kensai zōdan,* by the renga poet Kensai (ibid., vol. 5, p. 407), and *Monjū zenshū,* by Hosokawa Yūsai (ibid., vol. 6, p. 119). The courtier Karasumaru Mitsuo (1647–1690) quoted his father, Sukeyoshi, as saying that "*akeba mata*" was without peer, past or present (ibid., vol. 6, p. 287).

52. Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* pp. 99–100.

53. The term also appears in *Go-Toba-in gokuden.* See note by Steven D. Carter in Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* p. 133, no. 398.

54. *SC,* sec. 67. See Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu,* p. 147.

55. See *Kōun kūden* in Mimura et al., *Karon kagaku shūsei,* vol. 11, p. 51. "It is said that diction should not go beyond the *sandaishū.* But with the advent

of this latter age, as the number of poems increases, if one were to make such a pronouncement, it would be difficult to produce poems."

56. For example, *Sasamegoto,* secs. 12, 33, and 49. See Ramirez-Christensen, *Murmured Conversations,* or her base text in Kidō Saizō and Imoto Nōichi, eds., *Rengaron shū, hairon shū,* vol. 66, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 119–204.

57. *Sasamegoto,* secs. 8, 12.

58. Ibid., sec. 40.

59. Ibid., sec. 7.

60. Kidō and Imoto, *Rengaron shū, hairon shū,* p. 129, no. 13.

61. *Sasamegoto,* sec. 8.

62. Ramirez-Christensen, *Murmured Conversations,* p. 63. No source is given by Ramirez-Christensen or Kidō, the annotator of the edition upon which her translation is based, suggesting that this is a remark Shinkei had heard rather than read.

63. Ibid., p. 6.

64. *Sasamegoto,* sec. 12. Ramirez-Christensen, *Murmured Conversations,* p. 48.

65. *Sasamegoto,* sec. 12. Ramirez-Christensen, *Murmured Conversations,* p. 49. The third and shallowest level of this conception of attainment in the arts, which also appears in noh theory, is skin.

66. Tō no Taneuji (d. 1530), son of Tō no Tsuneyori; a warrior and poet who studied with Sōgi.

67. Kaneko Kinjirō, *Sōgi tabi no ki shichū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1970), pp. 114–115. This is based on the Gunsho ruijū recension, collated with the Naikaku bunko recension used as reference. The latter is reproduced in Fukuda Hideichi, Kawazoe Shōji, Kubota Jun, Iwasa Miyoko, Ōsone Shōsuke, and Tsurusaki Hiroo, eds., *Chūsei nikki kikōshū,* vol. 51, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), pp. 449–461.

68. See Paul S. Atkins, *Revealed Identity: The Noh Plays of Komparu Zenchiku* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2006), p. 253, regarding authorship, and pp. 93–115, for an extended discussion of the play.

69. Omote Akira and Katō Shūichi, eds., *Zeami, Zenchiku,* vol. 24, *Nihon shisō taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 341–352.

70. Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 377, no. 2305.

71. *Trachelospermum asiaticum (Sieb. et Zucc.) Nakai.* Also called Asiatic jasmine.

72. *Meigetsuki,* Jishō 5.1.3 (1181). See Meigetsuki Kenkyūkai, "*Meigetsuki* (Jishō 4–5-nen) o yomu," pp. 14–15.

73. Imamura Mieko, "Teika to Shokushi naishinnō: *Meigetsuki* o chūshin ni," *Bungaku* 6, no. 4 (Autumn 1995): 73–83.

74. Variant of *Shin Kokinshū*, no. 1329 (Love IV), by Shokushi, which has "*Ikite yo mo*" for the first line. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 389.

75. Variant of a poem by Teika: "*semete omou / ima hitotabi no / au koto wa / wataramu kawa ya / chigiru narubeki.*" See Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 2, p. 42, no. 3037.

76. Inaga Keiji, ed., *Chūsei Genji monogatari kōgaisho,* vol. 2*, Chūsei bungei sōsho* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Chūsei Bungei Kenkyūkai, 1965), pp. 104–105.

77. The textual source is the *Jizō bosatsu hosshin innen jūō kyō,* a fabricated sūtra. See Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, Imai Gen'e, and Suzuki Hideo, eds., *Genji monogatari*, vols. 20–25 of *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994–1998), vol. 2, p. 509.

78. Ōtani Setsuko, "Nō 'Teika' sunken." From an unpaged pamphlet to accompany a performance of the play *Teika* by Hirota Yukitoshi, October 5, 2008, Kongō Nō Theatre, Kyoto. Unpaged. http://hirota-kansyokai.la.coocan.jp/hirotakansyokai/images/11_kenkyu_teika01.pdf (accessed November 19, 2015).

79. *Shin Kokinshū,* no. 363. See Tanaka and Akase, *Shin kokin wakashū,* p. 117.

80. Eric C. Rath, "Reevaluating Rikyū: Kaiseki and the Origins of Japanese Cuisine," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 73.

81. The poem is by Ietaka but does not appear in *Shin Kokinshū.* It was composed for the *Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds.* See Kubota and Yamaguchi, *Roppyakuban utaawase,* p. 22, no. 44. Shunzei praised Ietaka's poem for its novelty and criticized his opponent's for repeating the word *no* "meadow," but called the round a draw anyway.

82. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Watanabe Ichirō, and Gunji Masakatsu, eds., *Kinsei geidō ron,* vol. 61, *Nihon shisō taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), p. 18.

83. In a discussion of some lines in "Akashi" chapter that praise the lush foliage of early summer, Sanetaka (1455–1537) noted, "A scene at the beginning of the fourth month. In addition to this extremely novel treatment, which is unique, Lord Teika wrote the poem, 'When I look out, / there are no blossoms, / no colored leaves. / A thatched hut on the shore / in the autumn twilight,' which adds a layer of depth." From section 3 of his *Sairyūshō.* Cited in Kubota, *Yakuchū Fujiwara no Teika zenkashū,* vol. 1, p. 135.

84. Sen Sōshitsu*, Sadō ura no tomaya,* 3 vols. (Kyoto: Fukuda Kinshōdō, 1903).

85. *Meigetsuki,* entries for Kenpō 1.10.13; Kangi 2.3.27; Kangi 2.3.28; Kangi 3.8.7; Kangi 3.8.18; and Shōgen 1.4.29. Cited in Furuya Minoru, "Kamakura shoki ni miru sho no keikan: Teika to sono shūhen," in Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* pp. 35–36.

86. Nagoya Akira, "Fujiwara no Teika no shofū ni tsuite: akuhitsu no ittoku," in Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* p. 50.

87. Nagoya, "Fujiwara no Teika no shofū," p. 51.

88. For a concise summary of the characteristics of the Teika style, see Takeuchi Jun'ichi, "Taipogurafii to shite no Teika yō," in Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* p. 224. In the modern era, Takeuchi shows, Teika-yō has been frequently been used in signs and advertising, including packaging for the first cigarettes ever sold in Japan.

89. Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* p. 151, plates 97, 98.

90. *Meigetsuki,* entries for Gannin 2.2.16 and Kenryaku 2.9.28. Cited in Nagoya Akira, "Teika-ryū wo kizuita hitobito," in Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* p. 145.

91. Nagoya Akira, "Teika-ryū wo kizuita hitobito," pp. 146–47.

92. Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* pp. 154–155, 159–161, 166–167, 214–216.

93. Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon shoryū zenshi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970), vol. 1, p. 577.

94. Nagoya Akira, "Teika shikishi no jūyō," in Gotō Bijutsukan, *Teika-yō,* pp. 94–97. The Ogura *shikishi* serve as a plot device in a contemporary novel in which one of the *shikishi* suddenly appears at an auction in New York, and a leading calligraphy researcher is murdered. See Azusasawa Kaname, *Hyakumai no Teika* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1998).

95. See Teitoku's *Taionki* in Odaka Toshio and Matsumura Akira, eds., *Taionki, Oritaku shiba no ki, Rantō kotohajime,* vol. 95, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964), p. 57.

96. Kaneko Kinjirō, Teruoka Yasutaka, Kira Sueo, and Katō Sadahiko, eds., *Rengashū, haikaishū,* vol. 61, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001), p. 313.

97. Ibid.

98. Adapted from Brower, *Maigetsushō,* p. 422.

99. Okuda Isao, Omote Akira, Horikiri Minoru, and Fukumoto Ichirō,, eds., *Rengaronshū, nōgakuronshū, haironshū,* vol. 88, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001), p. 439.

100. From *Kuzu no matsubara* in Kira Sueo, Yamashita Kazumi, Maruyama Kazuhiko, and Matsuo Yasuaki,, eds., *Kinsei haiku haibunshū,* vol. 72, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001), p. 119.

101. *Shin kashōki* 2:4, in Fuji Akio and Hiroshima Susumu, eds., *Ihara Saikaku shū,* vol. 69, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), p. 522.

102. *Buke giri monogatari* 5:5, in Fuji and Hiroshima, *Ihara Saikaku shū,* vol. 4, pp. 433–437.

103. *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 6, in Teruoka Yasutaka and Higashi Akimasa, eds., *Ihara Saikaku shū,* vol. 66, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), p. 191.

104. *Nippon eitaigura* 4, in Taniwaki Masachika, Jinbō Kazuya, and Teruoka Yasutaka, eds., *Ihara Saikaku shū,* vol. 68, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), p. 124.

105. Peter Nosco, "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The *Kokka hachiron* Controversy, 1742–46," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 1 (June 1981): 75–91.

106. *Kokka hachiron,* in Hashimoto, Fujihira, and Ariyoshi, *Karonshū,* pp. 544–545.

107. Ibid., pp. 538–540. This interpretation of Arimaro's criticism is advanced in note 3.

108. *Ashiwake obune,* sec. 59, in Suzuki Jun and Odaka Michiko, eds., *Kinsei zuisōshū,* vol. 82, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), pp. 372–373.

109. Ibid., pp. 375–376.

110. Ibid., pp. 402–403.

111. Odaka Toshirō, ed., *Edo shōwa shū,* vol. 100, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), pp. 53–54. Bashō alludes to this anecdote in a letter of thanks for a gift of rice, charcoal, and firewood. See Imoto Nōichi and Hori Nobuo, eds., *Matsuo Bashō shū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), vol. 1, p. 385.

112. From *Saizō* in Tanahashi Masahiro, Suzuki Katsutada, and Uda Toshihiko, eds., *Kibyōshi, senryū, kyōka,* vol. 79, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), p. 562, no. 213.

113. Ibid., p. 315, no. 248.

114. From Kawahigashi Hekigotō, ed., *Shiki zenshū* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1929–1931), vol. 6, p. 14.

115. From the corporate website www.meigetsu-hgc.co.jp (accessed November 19, 2015).

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